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The Life and Works of Jeremiah Joyce

John Issitt

Doctoral Thesis

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Abstract

This thesis traces the life and works of Jeremiah Joyce (1763-1816). Chapter 1 introduces Joyce and presents the methodology applied in the production of the thesis. Chapter 2 traces his upbringing as a Presbyterian dissenter and his experiences as a glazier's apprentice in Georgian London. It also gives an account of the influence of Arian and Unitarian teachers on Joyce and the education he received at Hackney College. Chapter 3 records Joyce's activities in radical metropolitan societies and his involvement in the 1794 Treason Trials. Chapter 4 explores Joyce's early writings produced whilst in the employment of the Earl of Stanhope. Chapter 5 gives an account of Joyce's life as a jobbing author in the first sixteen years of the nineteenth century.

Chapter 6 is the largest chapter and traces Joyce's works. The chapter is organised around Joyce's publishers and explores his many titles, some of which were published under pseudonyms. It probes the nature of Joyce's work as a writer, compiler and editor, and the different strategies he used to present scientific knowledge. It also traces the compromises between the theological, pedagogical and commercial concerns which dictated the form and content of the works.

The thesis is concerned to resurrect Joyce as an interesting figure whose importance as a political activist and science educationalist has hitherto been overlooked. His life and work is cast against the influences of the French Revolution on British society. In the early 1790s, Joyce was engaged in political education and the distribution of radical literature. From the later 1790s, his energies were focused on science education. The thesis traces this transition as revealed in Joyce's personal history and literary output.

Contents

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.1 The thesis	2
1.2 Historiographical method	9
1.2.1 Historiographical method for the biography	10
1.2.2 Historiographical method for the analysis of Joyce's works	13
1.3 The sources: primary material	17

CHAPTER 2

Joyce's origins and education to 1790

2.1 Joyce's family and ancestors	19
2.2 Early life in Cheshunt	23
2.3 Apprentice in Georgian London	26
2.4 Arian influences 1780-86	33
2.5 The integration of theological and political ideas	38
2.6 Hackney College: from Arianism to Unitarianism	41

CHAPTER 3

Radicalism, dissent and publication

3.1 Introduction	53
3.1 Joyce's appointment as tutor to the Earl of Stanhope's son Mahon	54
3.2 Political activities in London in the early 1790s	58
3.2.1 Stanhope's French Connections	59
3.2.2 The Revolution Society	63
3.3.3 The Unitarian Society	65
3.2.4 The Society for Constitutional Information	68
3.4 Joyce becomes notorious	73
3.5 The Arrest	77
3.6 The Tower and Newgate	83
3.7 The publication of the Account of the Author's Arrest for Treasonable Practices	88
3.7 Release and reception	93
3.8 The aftermath.	98

CHAPTER 4

Learning the craft of writing textbooks 1795-1800

4.1 From political to general education	101
4.3 With Stanhope 1795 - 1800	105
4.3.1 Publishing with Benjamin Flower in Cambridge: The case of the Scottish Martyrs	109
4.3.2 Publishing with Benjamin Flower in Cambridge: A literary apprenticeship	116

CHAPTER 5

A rational and pious man

5.1 Introduction	126
5.2 Life and Death	126
5.3 Unitarian world	132
5.3 Secretary of the Unitarian Society	136
5.5 Writing in the <i>Monthly Repository</i> and editing the <i>Imperial Review</i>	151
5.5 Political and social respectability	159

CHAPTER 6

The works of Jeremiah Joyce

6.1 Introduction	168
6.2 An eminent literary character: publishing with H. D. Symonds	180
6.3.1 Publishing with Joseph Johnson. <i>Enfield's Institutes</i>	187
6.3.2 <i>Scientific Dialogues</i>	189
6.3.3 <i>Dialogues in Chemistry</i>	204
6.3.4 <i>Dialogues on the Microscope</i>	208
6.3.5 <i>Letters on Natural and Experimental Philosophy</i>	212
6.3.6 <i>Catechism of Nature for the Use of Children.</i>	218
6.4.1 Publishing with Sir Richard Phillips	227
6.4.2 Goldsmith's Geographies	231
6.4.3 <i>The Book of Trades</i>	236
6.4.4 <i>The Wonders of the Microscope and The Wonders of the Telescope</i>	242
6.4.5 <i>A System Of Practical Arithmetic & Key</i>	251
6.4.6 <i>Blair's Grammar</i>	257
6.4.7 <i>Gregory's Dictionary</i>	260
6.5.1 Publishing with the firm of Longmans. <i>Nicholson's Encyclopaedia.</i>	266
6.5.2 <i>Familiar Introduction to the Arts and Sciences for the Use of Schools</i>	272
6.5.3 <i>Kendall's Pocket Encyclopedia</i>	278
6.5.4 <i>Systematic Education</i>	282
6.6 Publishing with Sherwood Neely: <i>Time's Telescope</i>	289
6.7 Publishing with C.J. Barrington: <i>The Lives of the Admirals</i>	295
6.8 Overview of Joyce's works	295

CHAPTER 7

Conclusion	298
-------------------	------------

APPENDIX 1	305
-------------------	------------

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WORKS CITED

1. Manuscript sources	308
2. Printed sources	310

List of Illustrations

1.	Portrait of the Reverend Jeremiah Joyce (1763 -1816). 1794.	1
2.	Map of Cheshunt in 1800.	20
3.	The repeal of the Test Acts. Cartoon satire of Priestley, Lindsey and Price by James Sayers.	49
4.	The Noble Sans-Culote. Cartoon satire of Stanhope by Gillray.	62
5.	Society for Constitutional Information. Cartoon satire by James Sayers.	69
6.	Official transcript of the Meeting of the Society for Constitutional Information. 11 April 1794. Joyce in the chair.	82
7.	'The New Times'. England after an imaginary revolution. <i>Times</i> , 6th Sept. 1794.	85
8.	Title page of Joyce's <i>Sermon and Account of the Author's Arrest for Treasonable Practices</i> . 1794.	89
9.	'New Morality'. Caricature by Gillray. <i>Anti-Jacobin Magazine and Review</i> , August 1798.	96
10.	Title page of <i>A Narrative of the Sufferings ...</i> by Thomas F. Palmer (1797). The account of the Scottish Martyrs.	111
11.	Title page of Joyce's <i>Analysis of Paley's Evidences</i> .	118
12.	Comparison of Joyce's and Paley's text.	120
13.	Title page of an 1877 revised edition of Joyce's <i>Analysis of Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations</i> .	124
14.	Rules of the Unitarian Society. 1818 edition.	137
15.	Title page. Unitarian Version of the <i>New Testament</i> . 1808.	140
16.	Circular Letter seeking subscriptions to the Unitarian version of the <i>New Testament</i> . June 1807.	143
17.	Extract from the Unitarian Version of the <i>New Testament</i> 1808.	145
18.	List of Subscribers to the Unitarian version of the <i>New Testament</i> . 1808.	148
19.	Title page. <i>A Sketch of the History and Proceedings of the Deputies..</i> 1813.	150
20.	Title page. <i>Imperial Review</i> . 1804.	156
21.	Title page. Sermon, <i>Courage and Union...</i> 1803.	160
22.	Title page. Sermon, <i>Subserviency of Free Enquiry</i> . 1816.	163
23.	Illustration from <i>Shakespeare's Seven Ages of Man Illustrated</i> 1800.	184
24.	Engraved portrait of Joseph Johnson. Moses Haughton ca. 1800.	186
25.	Extract of Joyce's additions to William Enfield's <i>The Institutes of Natural Philosophy</i> . 1799.	189
26.	Title page of Joyce's <i>Short Introduction to Magnetism and Electricity and the First Principles of Chemistry</i> 1799.	191
27.	1807. Title pages of 1800 & 1851 editions of Joyce's <i>Scientific Dialogues</i>	198
28.	Extract from Joyce's <i>Dialogues in Chemistry</i> .	207
29a.	Illustration from Joyce's <i>Dialogues on the Microscope</i> . 1812	211
29b.	Illustration from Joyce's <i>Dialogues on the Microscope</i> . 1812	211
30.	Title page and frontispiece of Joyce's <i>Letters on Natural and Experimental Philosophy</i> . 1821.	214
31.	Cover of the 19th edition of Joyce's <i>Catechism of Nature</i> (1850).	220
32.	Table of the 24 classes in Botany from Joyce <i>Catechism of Nature</i> . 1812.	224

33.	Portrait of Sir Richard Phillips. James Saxon.	226
34.	Benjamin Tabart's shop. 1805.	229
35.	Linear Geography. Student exercise from <i>Geography Illustrated on a Popular Plan</i> . 1803.	233
36	'Chinese Waterman', from <i>Geography Illustrated on a Popular Plan</i> . 1803.	235
37.	A Wool Comber, from the <i>Book of Trades</i> . 1806.	239
38.	Compound Microscope from <i>Wonders of the Microscope</i> . 1805	245
39.	'The Luminous space in the sword of Orion', from <i>Wonders of the Telescope</i> . 1805.	250
40.	Commercial Numbers. From Joyce's <i>A System of Practical Arithmetic</i> . 1808.	254
41.	Mechanism for learning mental arithmetic from <i>A key to Joyce's Arithmetic</i> . 1808.	256
42.	Title page and frontispiece. <i>An Easy Grammar of Natural and Experimental Philosophy</i> . 1807.	258
43.	Thomas Norton Longman.	265
44.	Advertisement for <i>Nicholson's British Encyclopedia</i> . 1808.	268
45.	Questions and illustration from <i>Familiar Introduction to the Arts and Sciences</i> . 1810.	275
46.	Orang Outang. From <i>Kendall's Pocket Encyclopedia</i> . 1811.	280
47.	Structure and Functions of Man. From <i>Systematic Education</i> . 1815.	288
48.	Title page of <i>Time's Telescope</i> . 1814.	291
49.	Extract from Astronomical Occurrences in <i>Time's Telescope</i> . 1814.	294

Notes and List of Abbreviations

The thesis concerns a writer who published nearly all his works in London and concerns London publishers with only one exception. Therefore the place of publication is London and all works cited were published in London unless otherwise stated. Where possible all publisher details are given as this information is germane to the thesis.

MCO = Manchester College Oxford

DWL = Doctor Williams's Library, London.

SCI = Society for Constitutional Information

LCS = London Corresponding Society.

IR = Imperial Review

MR = Monthly Repository

One of the main sources for Joyce's life and publications is Robert Aspland's 'Memoir of Jeremiah Joyce', which appeared in the *Monthly Repository* Vol. 12, December 1817, pp. 697-700. As this is used throughout and frequently, it is given in the footnotes as Aspland, Memoir.

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I would not have been able to fulfil the demands of research without the support and love of my family especially my wife Patricia and my children, Theo and Georgia, to whom I dedicate this thesis.



THE REV^D JEREMIAH JOYCE .

Figure 1.

Portrait of the Reverend Jeremiah Joyce. Published 11 Nov. 1794, by B.Crosby. Stationer's Court, Ludgate Street. National Portrait Gallery. Reference Collection. Neg. Ref. 39813.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 The thesis

Some of the most important features of British social history in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries are reflected in the life and work of Jeremiah Joyce (1763 - 1816). Born into an artisan family, he served a seven-year apprenticeship as a glazier and worked as a journeyman in London before studying for the Unitarian Ministry. He became a radical, heavily involved in the distribution of political literature while in the employment of the Earl of Stanhope. He became an important link between the Unitarian church and agencies for political reform and gained notoriety as one of the twelve arrested, charged and acquitted in the famous treason trials of 1794. Through the later 1790s, and the years of William Pitt's suppression of radicals, he retired from the stage of metropolitan politics and taught the Earl of Stanhope's children at the Earl's country house in Chevening, Kent. There he learnt the craft of writing abridgements and textbooks. In late 1799 he left Stanhope and, until his death in 1816, secured a living as a writer. He engaged in a wide range of publishing projects although his major literary effort was directed to science education.

In Ian Inkster's introductory essay to *Metropolis and Province* 'Aspects of the history of science and science culture in Britain, 1780-1850 and beyond', he laments the relative dearth of information on the motives and social characteristics of individuals involved in science other than high profile scientists like Lyell and Davy. The essays in Inkster's

volume address themselves to those whose 'existence converted natural and experimental philosophy into popular culture'.¹ This thesis is offered, in part, by way of supplementing Inkster's project. The story of Joyce's political radicalism up to 1795 and his literary endeavours in science education after 1795, set in the context of the changing fortunes of rational dissent provoked by the French Revolution, is a story which traces the life of somebody close to aspects of science culture and who was instrumental in the formulation of the popular presentation of science.

Joyce's life and works take place in what Iwan Morus, Simon Schaffer and Jim Secord have described as the 'struggles about the content and management of knowledge' taking place in scientific London at just the point when Joyce was publishing.² This thesis is a case study of that struggle as it traces the relationships between political radicalism, religious dissent and the formulation of popular scientific pedagogy - all important features of London life at the turn of the eighteenth to the nineteenth century. Whilst the thesis is concerned to further illuminate the struggle identified by Morus, Schaffer and Secord, its major concern however, is to illuminate the life and works of a man. To that end the consistent focus of the thesis is on the culture of print which provided the major context of Joyce's working life. The thesis has called heavily on several now classic works. John Feather's *A History of British Publishing*, Marjorie Plant's *The English Book Trade* and Phillip Gaskell's *A New Introduction to Bibliography* set out the lineages of the publishing,

¹Ian Inkster, 'Introduction: Aspects of the history of science and science culture in Britain, 1780-1850 and beyond' in Ian Inkster & Jack Morrell (ed.), *Metropolis and Province: Science in British Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983), pp11-54 (p.16).

²Iwan Morus, Simon Schaffer and Jim Secord, 'Scientific London' in Celina Fox (ed.) *London -World City 1800-1840* (Yale University Press in association with the Museum of London, 1992), pp 129-142 (p.130).

technical and trade features of book production.³ Two classic studies: Richard Altick's *The English Common Reader* and R.K. Webb's *The British Working Class Reader*, trace the social origins and patterns of expansion of readership through the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.⁴ Arthur Aspinall's *Politics and the Press* sets out the political and legal relationships of Newspaper production and contains important context for the issues of censorship and freedom to the press in general.⁵ John Brewer's section on print in *The Pleasure of the Imagination*, is also vital for tracing the role of books in English Culture in the eighteenth century.⁶

The political radicalism of which Joyce was part, was one of the first movements of organised opposition to the British government in which members of the lower classes were instrumental. The campaign to obtain equal civil rights for religious dissenters, a cause for which Joyce was a tireless worker, was important in developing the religious toleration characteristic of modern liberal society. The development of popular scientific education, in which Joyce was a major and innovative figure, aimed at advancing levels of scientific literacy throughout society. The triple set of themes - political radicalism, religious dissent and science education - were also the concern of two major figures of the eighteenth century, Richard Price and Joseph Priestley, both of whom directly influenced Joyce. Joyce's intellectual, theological and social inheritance came, in large measure, from Price and Priestley and much of their vision informed Joyce's life and work. However, Joyce was

³John Feather, *A History of British Publishing* (Routledge, 1988); Marjorie Plant, *The English Book Trade* (Allen & Unwin, 1965); Phillip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972).

⁴Richard Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800-1900* (Ohio State University press, 1998); R.K. Webb, *The British Working Class Reader 1790- 1884: Literacy and Social Tension* (Allen & Unwin, 1955).

⁵Arthur Aspinall, *Politics and the Press* (Home & Van Thal, 1949).

⁶John Brewer, *The Pleasure of the Imagination* (Harper Collins, 1997) pp.125-200.

a generation younger and until the last year of his life, he didn't manage, as Priestley and Price had done, to secure the relative financial security of a ministry.

Joyce was a young man through the years of the French Revolution and the French wars. The changing political conditions of the late eighteenth century forged a very different social reality from the mid-enlightenment period which had provided the context for the development of Price's and Priestley's ideas. Until the 1790s, Price and Priestley could promote notions of a more representative state and could cast such a visionary possibility to the republic of ideas with little fear of prosecution. In the early 1790s however, Joyce was in the front line of radical agitation and attempted to put such ideas into practice in a context of fierce hostility from the Establishment, but with very limited support from the general population. As the events of the French Revolution unfolded, especially after the September Massacres, the claims for a state based on reason, the rights of dissenters and the benefits of extending education, were contradicted in the public imagination by establishment propagandists like Edmund Burke. Joyce was, therefore, confronted by a social and political world far different from that imagined by his intellectual forebears, and his intellectual biography exhibits the accommodation he had to make in order to apply such earlier ideas to the realities of the early nineteenth century. Some of the Price-Priestley programme remained stable: for example, the concern with science remained fairly constant in the Unitarian world view, as did the demand for civil rights, which, whilst temporally less visible, was kept alive by the influential constituencies of middle class dissenters. However, the democratic tendencies in the political agenda of Unitarianism, which had lead some of its members to engage in radical politics, largely evaporated. This did not engender a complete swing amongst Unitarians to a more conservative position, but it did serve to lower their reforming sights. Joyce was not alone

in forsaking his concern with political education informed by the goal of a more equitable parliamentary representation in the short-term, in order to focus his attention on the much longer-term theme of educational gradualism.

Joyce's biography also differs in practical and social dimensions from that of Price and Priestley. His tradesman origins, his practical efforts to distribute political and educational literature and his financial position of wage labourer, then employee and then commercial free-lancer, always set him apart from the mainly middle class financially-independent community of London dissenters.

The only modern study of Joyce, by the historian John Seed (1981), is a short article concerned with the 'vicissitudes of the radical intelligentsia'. Here Seed establishes that the working class Joyce was accepted by the community of middle class dissenters through the later 1780s and early 1790s, a period when benign patronage of the lower orders was an acceptable feature of the middle class dissent.⁷ But, Seed argues, Joyce became an acute embarrassment to the same community as the range of respectable ideas was gripped by more conservative sentiment through the later 1790s. Joyce's lower class origins and radical notoriety were an embarrassment to some of his Unitarian colleagues and although he remained a life-long and hard-working Unitarian, the community never accorded him the position of social respectability that it did to some of its metropolitan ministers, such as Thomas Belsham, John Disney and Robert Aspland, all of whom had middle class origins and held moderate political views.

Joyce's reputation as a writer was also restricted by the omission of his name from some of his publications due to the publishers' fear that his association with radicalism

⁷John Seed, 'Jeremiah Joyce, Unitarianism and the Vicissitudes of the Radical Intelligentsia', *Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society*, 17, 3, (April 1981): 97-108.

might reduce sales. His literary anonymity partly explains why scholars have failed to notice Joyce's significance or to attribute to him the extensive body of works he produced. In the social history of radicalism he gets scant and selective mention.⁸ In histories of Unitarianism he is hardly noticed: only his political radicalism is selected for comment as part of the history of the struggle for civil rights.⁹ In histories of education, most of which focus on the histories of schooling rather than popular educational literature, Joyce is also rarely mentioned.¹⁰ Apart from minimal biographical notices and Robert Aspland's seven page memoir of Joyce that appeared in Aspland's *Monthly Repository* in the year of Joyce's death (1816), the short article by John Seed is the only writing on Joyce.¹¹ Seed's article however, does not provide a systematic treatment of Joyce's life or his educational and literary works.

⁸For instance E.P. Thompson's classic *The Making of the English Working Class* (Harmondsworth: Pelican, 1972), has missed Joyce entirely.

⁹For instance the standard history of Unitarianism, Raymond Holt's *The Unitarian Contribution to Social Progress in England* (Lindsey Press, 1832), p. 118, only gives Joyce six lines and refers to him only in connection with the Treason Trials.

¹⁰Surprisingly Brian Simon's classic *Studies in the History of Education* (Lawrence & Wishart, 1960), has no mention of Joyce. David Layton's impressive *Science for the People* (Allen & Unwin, 1973), p 32,46,114, only briefly mentions Joyce's most famous work *Scientific Dialogues* (Johnson, 1800-1803).

¹¹Entries for Joyce can be found in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and to a lesser extent in J.O. Bayden & N.J. Gossman's *Biographical Dictionary of Modern British Radicals*, 2 vols (Harvester, 1979). Small entries can be found in: J. Watkins & F. Shoberl, *A Biographical Dictionary of Authors* (Henry Colburn, 1816); R. Watts, *Bibliotheca Britannica* (Longmans, 1824), 2 Vols; A. Beckett, *A Universal Biography*, 3 vols (Longmans, 1836); G.G. Cunningham, *Lives of Eminent and Illustrious*, 3 vols *Englishmen* (1836-8); J. Gorton, *A General Biographical Dictionary*, 3 vols (Glasgow: A. Fullarton, 1841); H.J. Rose, *A New General Biographical Dictionary*, (Fellowes, 1853), 12 Vols; J.F. Waller, *Imperial Dictionary* (W. Mackenzie, 1857-63); S.A. Allibone, *Critical Dictionary of English/American Authors* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1859-71); S. Maunder, *Biographical Treasury: A Dictionary of Universal Biography* (Longmans, 1870); W.D. Adams, *Dictionary of English Literature* (Cassell, revised ed., 1879); R.H. Palgrave, *Dictionary of Political Economy*, 3 vols (Macmillan, 1894-99); E. Smith, *The Story of the English Jacobins* (Cassell, 1881), p.111; Robert Collinson, *Encyclopedias: Their History Throughout the Ages* (Hafner, 1966).

One reason why so little attention has been paid to Joyce by historians is the absence of primary source material. On his death Joyce ordered that all his papers be burnt. The political papers of the Earl of Stanhope, which may have referred to Joyce, were removed by Lord Holland following Stanhope's death. There are no extant letters between Richard Price, the Earl of Stanhope and Joyce, despite their mutual relationship and despite the fact that Richard Price recommended Joyce to Stanhope as tutor to his children. Doubtless any such letters were destroyed for political reasons. The lack of historical records, the Unitarian community's embarrassment over Joyce and the anonymity of much of his literary output, have therefore obscured both Joyce's personal history and his works.

Another reason why Joyce's works have not been a focus of systematic study is that until recently, historians of science have rarely been concerned with educational science texts directed to 'popular' audiences. The traditional research agenda has focused on the innovation of ideas and elite cultural forums such as the Royal Society of London, in which such ideas were first publicly presented. There is also no obvious category under which Joyce's works have been consistently classified - a fact that is re-inforced by the eclectic manner in which his publications are catalogued in libraries - sometimes falling under 'children's literature', sometimes under 'history of science', sometimes under 'physics' and sometimes under subject headings relating to the individual titles. Although novels, scientific treatises and romantic children's literature can be apprehended as distinct genres, the works Joyce produced have no convenient designation since they were mainly about science, were largely educational works and were designed for popular audiences including children and young people.

This thesis attempts to recover Joyce and his writings from the oblivion which his personal and social history has created, and which has subsequently been sealed by the

ways in which historians have directed their attention to other topics. To this end, the thesis broadly falls into two parts. The first part covers Joyce's life (chapters 2-5). It is limited by the scarcity of primary material, but presents surviving records and interprets them against the background of social history with the aim of establishing Joyce's role in political radicalism, Unitarianism and the distribution of educational literature. The second part describes and analyses the extensive and eclectic body of work he produced (chapters 5-6), with the aim of presenting Joyce's writings as interesting, as pedagogically crafted, and as a revealing source for the study of history of science, popular culture and education.

Joyce's personal history clearly influenced the works he produced. The radical political ideas and the social vision of Price and Priestley, the community of metropolitan radicals and the patronage of the Whig aristocrat, the Earl of Stanhope, outlined in part one of the thesis, fuelled his pedagogical aspirations and designs in the works described in part two. The social realities of the first decades of the nineteenth century combined with the commercial imperatives of the London booktrade however, presented Joyce with considerable challenges to his Unitarian and educational agenda. This thesis traces Joyce's negotiation and assimilation of such factors. It traces Joyce's biography as it progressed through his early influences and education, his overtly political activities, his developing focus on education and his years as a writer. After mapping Joyce's formative influences and the development of his personal history, it then catalogues his writings and explores the extent to which these influences were translated into the works he produced.

1.2 Historiographical method

When I embarked on doctoral research, my concern was with the more general topic of the presentation of science to nineteenth century children. It was only a chance encounter that brought me to study Jeremiah Joyce. I discovered his books when I was exploring the

textbook collection of the Museum of Education in Leeds University. I had entered the research field heavily influenced by contemporary and theoretical sociology and philosophy of science, and my intention was to explore the presentation of science using these theoretical perspectives. As the research progressed however, it became clear that very little had been written on Joyce, that he was an interesting figure in a number of fields and that he had been involved in a vast number of literary enterprises. Since my original intention to deploy theoretical equipment could not be sustained if I was to recover Joyce and his works from historical oblivion, I had to make a choice between empirical but sensitive bench history and sustained theoretical exposition. The fact that there was so much work to be done to resurrect Joyce and much of that work involved tracing pseudonymous works, effectively resolved the dilemma. I decided that the initial task was to trace Joyce's life, and to collate, describe and analyse his works. The thesis contributes a biography of Joyce and an account of his works which will provide the basis for further theoretical studies of the formulation of science in the public imagination.

1.2.1 Historiographical method for the biography

The weighty subjects of reason, theology and science are the main intellectual components of Joyce's biography and this thesis traces Joyce's negotiation, assimilation and expression of these factors. The thesis, however, does not analyse the intrinsic philosophical coherence of the Unitarian use of reason, of theology and of science beyond exploring Joyce's particular usages, on the grounds that such debates are beyond its scope. It does however, take the position that Joyce's adoption of the Unitarian perspective was genuine and that the task of this biographical account is to expose the grain, the texture and the quality of his intellectual world as far as the sources will permit.

No grand theory is deployed in the development of Joyce's life and the sources are analysed with the aim of assessing Joyce's activities. The historiographical assumption used here is that biography is a useful way to explore social history. It permits the researcher to relate the micro events of Joyce's life to the broader social stage. Joyce's childhood is explored using local histories and sources on non-conformity. His early life is set against the background of Georgian London as developed in the writings of M.D. George, Lucy Sutherland, George Rude, John Brewer, Roy Porter and others.¹² The theological inheritance which influenced Joyce has been explored using Olive Griffiths's majestic *Religion and Learning*.¹³ Although somewhat dated, Griffiths's book is one of the finest intellectual histories which draws together the strands of theology, education and social vision. This book helped me to establish the interconnectedness of ideas of theology and political philosophy, but it also delivered the important lesson that the religious engagement of the historical subject can be understood as utterly genuine rather than as the consequence of superstition, ideological control or mistaken reasoning. Although Griffiths's analysis covers an immense intellectual terrain, it does so with a consistent focus on the individual's religious endeavour. Such a focus urges an historiographical position of humility towards the historical subject - Joyce. This is not an unthinking humility which might lead to a loss of critical scrutiny, but an honest humility to Joyce's human agency. In

¹²M.Dorothy George, *London Life in the Eighteenth Century* (Penguin, 1976); Lucy Sutherland, 'The City of London in eighteenth-century politics' in *Essays presented to Sir Lewis Namier*, ed. by R. Pares and A.J.P. Taylor (Macmillan, 1956); George Rude, *Hanoverian London* (Secker & Warburg, 1971); John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Harper Collins, 1997); Roy Porter, *London: a Social History* (Hamilton, 1994).

¹³Olive M. Griffiths, *Religion and Learning: A Study in English Presbyterian Thought from the Bartholomew Ejections (1662) to the Foundation of the Unitarian Movement* (Cambridge University Press, 1935).

similar style, the writings of Caroline Robbins, Ursula Henriques and Clarke Garrett were also influential in navigating the important religious and political perspectives.¹⁴

The history of political radicalism has received considerable attention from historians. E.P Thompson's classic *The Making of the English Working Class* (1st ed., 1963), was one of the first detailed studies and is a rich source for the context of Joyce's radical activities. However, Thompson's account, whilst a brilliant exhibition of scholarship, is informed by a Marxist interpretation no longer tenable. The categories, the heroic account of the rise of working class consciousness and the class-conflict model which provides a simplistic organising structure for Thompson's treatment, is an unacceptable historiographical position contradicted by evidence and countered by the many other treatments. This thesis uses the less self-consciously theoretical but nevertheless impressive work by Albert Goodwin - *The Friends of Liberty* - which is uniquely useful for capturing the context of Joyce's radicalism as it includes a close study of the relationships between radicals in France and England and provides a fine bibliography for students of the period.¹⁵ Mark Philp's *The French Revolution and British Popular Politics* is also an important modern study as are the writings of H.T. Dickenson, J.R. Dinwiddy, Clive Emsley, John Ehrman and Gregory Claeys and others, all of whom have analysed the social and political dynamics of the period.¹⁶

¹⁴Caroline Robbins, *The Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthman* (Harvard University Press, 1961); Ursula Henriques, *Religious Toleration in England*, (Routledge, 1961); Clarke Garrett, *Respectable Folly: Millenarians and the French Revolution in France and England*, (John Hopkins University Press, 1975).

¹⁵Albert Goodwin, *The Friends of Liberty* (Hutchinson, 1979).

¹⁶Mark Philp, *The French Revolution and British Popular Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 1991); H.T. Dickenson, *British Radicalism and the French Revolution 1789-1815* (Blackwell, 1985); J.R. Dinwiddy, *Radicalism and Reform in Britain 1780-1850* (Hambleton, 1992); Clive Emsley, *British Society and the French Wars* (Macmillan, 1979); John Ehrman, *The Younger Pitt: The Consuming Struggle*, (Constable, 1996) and Gregory Claeys, *Thomas Paine: Social and Political Thought* (Unwin Hyman, 1989).

Unitarian history is inseparable from the life of its most powerful and famous figure - Joseph Priestley - and Priestley's Arian friend, Richard Price. The secondary literature concerning both these figures has been important in analysing the influences on Joyce and this thesis has benefited from the powerful writings of Martin Fitzgerald, D.O Thomas, and Bernard Peach, amongst others, which all appear in the *Price-Priestley Newsletter* (continued as the journal *Enlightenment and Dissent*). The doctoral researches of Grayson Ditchfield, John Seed and Ruth Watts have been helpful in tracing Joyce's position on the stage of metropolitan Unitarianism.¹⁷ Finally, R.K.Webb's essay on 'Rational Piety' has provided a powerful conceptual linkage between Joyce's use of reason and his aspiration for Christian virtue.¹⁸

1.2.2 Historiographical method for the analysis of Joyce's works

The broad historiographical position adopted in the thesis, is one that reflects the general direction of contemporary work in the history of the book. This recent perspective apprehends books as cultural objects forged from the social processes and conditions in which they are created. Rather than interpreting printing technology as a coherent and revolutionary force for social change and authors as the main agents of such a force, Robert Darnton has argued that production of printed material reflects many cultural processes and many individuals, all involved in what he calls a 'communications circuit' involving author,

¹⁷Grayson Ditchfield, 'Some Aspects of Unitarianism and Radicalism 1760 - 1810', (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, 1968); John Seed, 'The Role of Unitarianism in the formation of Liberal Culture 1775-1851: A Social History' (unpublished doctoral thesis: University of Hull, 1981); Ruth Watts 'The Unitarian Contribution to Education from the late eighteenth century to 1853' (unpublished doctoral thesis: University of Leicester, 1987).

¹⁸R.K Webb, 'Rational Piety' in *Enlightenment and Religion*, ed. by Knud Haakonssen (Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp 287-311.

publisher, printer, bookbinder, bookseller and reader.¹⁹ Darnton's model is one that de-centres both the technology and the author from the analysis of book production and develops a model with more inputs, more complexity and more involvement by personnel hitherto considered as ancillary or passive in the production of books and their meaning. Adrian Johns has developed this sense of the plurality of individual roles in the production of books and the meaning of their contents, to argue the comparative unimportance of the author as the individual creator of the work.²⁰ Whilst Johns's work is focused on the seventeenth century many of his insights are applicable to the period in which Joyce was writing. In a similar vein, Roger Chartier has nurtured an Historiographical movement away from the traditional focus of the linear transmission of ideas from author to reader. Chartier has developed a model of a set of interactive elements in the process of meaning making - authorial intention, the technologies of production and reader appropriation.²¹ Such developments in the historiography of studies of the book have generated a conceptual apparatus for the investigation of the social process in the production of meaning in text, and are complemented by recent shifts in the study of popular science. Roger Cooter and Stephen Pumfrey for instance, have challenged the model of high and low forms of cultural production which serve to inform the selection of texts considered important for the study of the social production of science. They have powerfully argued for a history of science popularisation which undermines the traditional 'history of popular science conceived of as

¹⁹Robert Darnton, 'What is the History of Books?' reprinted in his *The Kiss of Lamourette: Reflections in Cultural History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1990).

²⁰Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago University Press, 1998).

²¹Roger Chartier, 'Texts, Printing, Readings' in Lynne Hunt's collection *The New Cultural History* (University of California Press, 1989), pp. 154-175.

hierarchically tied to high science'.²² The work of Darnton and Johns in the history of the book, combined with Chartier's probing of the construction of meaning and the challenges to the traditional historiographies of popular science by Cooter and Pumfrey, provide a nexus of intersecting lines of analysis which inform the historiographical position of this thesis.²³

One of the results of this new historiography of studies of the book, has been to re-assess judgements concerning the merit of individual works and evaluate why some writings have been considered as important and not others. This question is particularly apposite in relation to Joyce's works some of which were printed in hundreds of thousands over a sixty-year period. One of the standard sources for researching books and authors of the early nineteenth century is Edith J. Morley's three volume collation of references in Henry Crabb Robinson's writings about authors and books.²⁴ In the preface, Morley claimed that the purpose of the work was 'to include every mention of both books and authors', and that Robinson had met 'everyone of note in the world of letters'. Joyce had considerable social and publishing links with Robinson but is not mentioned by Robinson in his voluminous diaries beyond noting the devastating impact that Joyce's death had on their mutual friend J.T. Rutt.²⁵ For both Robinson and Morley then, Joyce's works possessed no literary merit and indeed Joyce did not qualify as an author at all.

²²Roger Cooter & Stephen Pumfrey, 'Separate Spheres and Public Places: Reflections on the History of Science Popularization and Science in Popular Culture', *History of Science* 32 (1994), 237-267 (p. 256).

²³For a recent survey covering these links see Jon Topham, 'Scientific Publishing and the Reading of Science: an Historiographical Survey', *Studies in the History and Philosophy of Science* (forthcoming).

²⁴Edith Morley, *Henry Crabb Robinson on Books and Their Writers*, 3 vols (Dent, 1935).

²⁵DWL, Henry Crabb Robinson, *Diaries*, vol. 5, 23 June 1816, (p. 194).

Possible reasons for Robinson's lack of recognition of Joyce include: the traditional avoidance of science by those interested in literature; the distance Robinson may have wanted to place between his own intellectual and social elite, and the movements for popular education gaining pace at just that time; the influence on Robinson of English, and increasingly German, romanticism which disdained the rote-learning didacticism informing many popular educational writings. Whatever are the reasons for the classification of writings into high and low, good and bad, interesting or not interesting, it is clear that such judgements are not, and never have been, neutral. Such judgements are loaded with the values and perspectives carried by their proponents and serve to determine the fortunes of writers and their products. Robinson did not see his contemporary, Joyce, as an author and Morley reproduced Robinson's judgement thereby obscuring Joyce further. The charge of literary feebleness, where 'literary' refers to a higher, more aesthetic form of writing, which underpins Robinson and Morley's dismissal of Joyce's works, expresses the sentiments of middle class literary and aesthetic values and ignores both the efforts of Joyce and the judgement of the hundreds of thousands who bought his books.

The type of work Joyce did has often been viewed negatively as hack-work. In many of his works Joyce selected material from a wide range of sources which he then compiled, edited or adapted to suit particular literary productions. He worked on the productions of others and re-shaped existing material to suit new projects which necessarily carried commercial considerations. In a practical sense Joyce did hack together his work in a cut and paste fashion. He observed, collected, selected, arranged and presented ideas in accordance with his understanding, his purposes and his anticipation of his readers. However, the distinctions between Joyce's craft and the supposed art of other forms of

writing, is one that rests on qualitative judgements about the merits of particular literary activities and products.

This analysis of Joyce's works shows that they were well-crafted and engaging forms of writing fully deserving of attention by the research community. The thesis reveals the rich religious context which provided the epistemological and theological grounds on which Joyce's works were based. It reveals the political and social aspirations which informed his educational work. It reveals Joyce's craft of presenting scientific knowledge. It presents the compromises of a jobbing writer working to the commercial imperatives of publishers, and it establishes the variety of work such a writer had to undertake.

1. 3 The sources: primary material.

The main archival records of Joyce are to be found in the Shepherd Manuscripts in Manchester College, Oxford. These are the papers of Joyce's friend William Shepherd which were gathered by Joyce's daughter Hannah, who became Shepherd's housekeeper after Joyce died. Hannah collected the papers through the 1850s and included several letters to and from Joyce. Doctor Williams Library (DWL) also holds a number of items which mention Joyce - mainly letters to and from Theophilus Lindsey. As Joyce was a trustee of the Library, he donated copies of most of his works, although he tended to offer only copies of works bearing his own name. The John Rylands Library also holds some of Lindsey's letters which contain occasional references to Joyce. The Maidstone Record Office has some references to Joyce are to be found in the records of the Earl of Stanhope's household, and the Stanhope papers include some government-sponsored pamphlets annotated in Joyce's hand. The records of the Unitarian Society, held in the headquarters of the Unitarian Society in Essex House, London, are a rich source for Joyce. They trace his activities as secretary from 1802 to 1816: the minute books of the Society are in his hand

through that period. The Treasurer Solicitor Papers, held in the Public Record Office, contain papers relating to the treason trials and the Society for Constitutional Information with many references to Joyce. The archives of the publishing firm of Longmans held in the University of Reading, record the production of various Joyce works by Joyce and his correspondence with Longmans.²⁶ The Longmans archive also hold some of the records of the publisher Sir Richard Phillips with whom Joyce was closely involved. The papers of Francis Place, held in the British Library, also contain some Joyce letters.²⁷

The texts Joyce produced are held in many archives and considerable use has been made of their advertisements and editorial introductions with the purpose of piecing together the sequences of Joyce's works and aspects of his personal history. The entries in the British Library catalogue, National Union Catalogue and the various on-line bibliographical databases, mention only texts under his own name. However, Robert Aspland's memoir of Joyce provides a detailed, although partial, and occasionally mistaken, record of the texts he produced under other names.²⁸ A list of Joyce's works is also provided in the Shepherd Manuscripts in the form a letter dictated by Joyce's ailing wife Elizabeth to her daughter Helen.²⁹ Considerable detective work using the sources above has ascertained the publications on which Joyce actually worked and has produced one of the major outcomes of this research in the form of a far more complete bibliography of Joyce's writings than has previously existed.³⁰

²⁶The firm of Longman is generally known as 'Longmans'.

²⁷Full references to these collections are given in the bibliography.

²⁸Aspland, *Memoir*.

²⁹MCO, Shepherd MSS, vol. 10, No 89. Helen Joyce to Hannah Ridyard (nee Joyce), Lowestoft 1856.

³⁰Appendix 1.

Chapter 2

Joyce's origins and education to 1790

2.1 Joyce's family and ancestors

Joyce was born on 24 February 1763 in Cheshunt, Hertfordshire. He was the youngest son of Jeremiah and Hannah Joyce who had four children that survived infancy - Joshua (eldest), Sarah (becoming Sarah Hodgson), Jeremiah and a younger sister Elizabeth (becoming Elizabeth Owen). The family had been in the area for several generations and a Jeremiah Joyce (likely to have been Joyce's great grandfather), held a property by free deed of the manor comprising outhouses and a barn quite close to the centre of Cheshunt in 1669.¹ This may have been the same property which Joyce's father had in copyhold tenure and is one of the properties marked in Figure 2.

The Joyce family had a long history of dissent and Cheshunt had a significantly high population of non-conformists.² Fifty percent of the pilgrim fathers came from Suffolk, Essex and Hertfordshire which may explain some of Joyce's father's support for the American War of Independence.

Subsequent to the 1662 Act of Uniformity, 30 ministers in Hertfordshire and 120 in neighbouring Essex were ejected from the Church of England - one of whom was Joyce's great grandfather the Reverend John Benson.³

¹ Stephen Tothill. *Survey of the Parish of Cheshunt* (1669), Hertfordshire Record Office. The location is given as being adjacent to 'the lane leading from Turners Hill to Churchgate South'.

² William Urwick. *Nonconformity in Herts* (Hazell, Watson and Viney, 1884) Numerous entries for the Joyce name in the Cheshunt area beginning 1688. "Wm Joyce and wife arraigned before the ecclesiastical court for refusing to conform to the rituals of the church" p. 788 & 507.

³ Jack Edwards, *Cheshunt in Hertfordshire* (Cheshunt Urban District Council, 1974), p. 72; DNB, Joyce entry

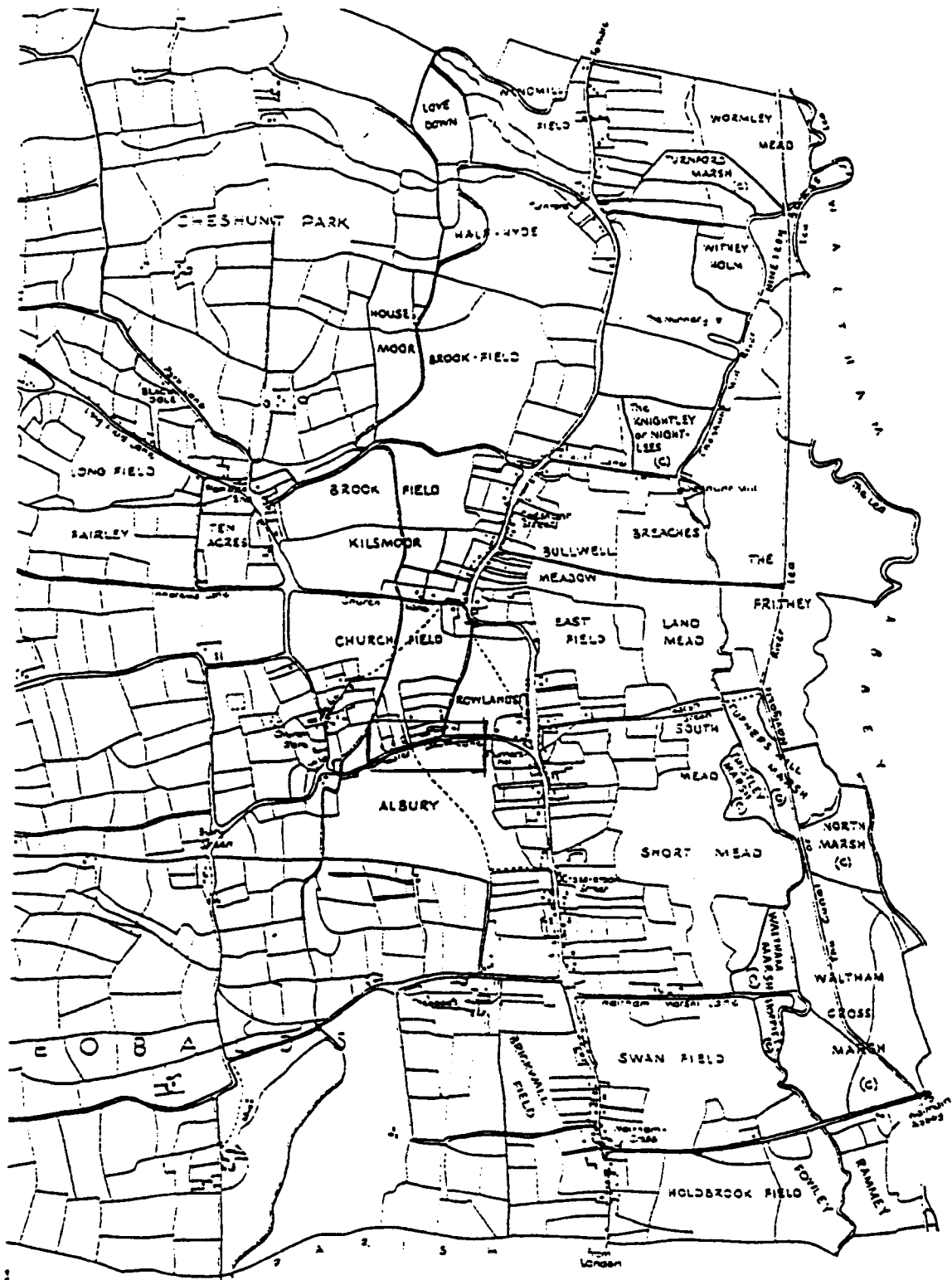


Figure 2. Map of Cheshunt in 1800. R.Rooke from an original by Henry Crawter in Cheshunt Public Library. Front Illustration in Jack Edwards, *Cheshunt in Hertfordshire* (Cheshunt Urban District Council, 1974).

Joyce's mother, Hannah (1726-1816), formerly Hannah Somersett, daughter of John Somersett of Mildreds Court in the Poultry district of London, was twelve when she went in-service to a family in Cheshunt where she met Joyce senior.⁴ Joyce's obituary of her records her as very pious woman who, at the age of 19, joined the local Presbyterian congregation of the Reverend John Oakes. Joyce acknowledged her influence in shaping the values he held and endeavoured to express throughout his life:

She has left four children, who cannot cease to remember with emotions of filial piety and gratitude, the constant care and attention which she ever manifested in forming their minds to the habits of usefulness, integrity and virtue.⁵

Joyce's father was a master-woolcomber. He purchased wool and put it out to domestic combers as well as employing journeyman woolcombers working at his own property. The cottage industry of woolcombing involved the purchase of raw wool, combing it using oil and heated metal combs, and selling on the finished wool for manufacture.⁶ Situated so near London, he benefited from a ready market for prepared wool to be made into woollen products and sold either in London, or shipped for export. He was also engaged in other aspects of the wool trade as he regularly bought worsted yarn (spun from combed wool), from Cheshunt Workhouse and he supplied the parish Beadle's coat.⁷

The woolcombers were a powerful and organised body with a history of strained relations with employers.⁸ Theirs was a trade much in demand in the mid-eighteenth century. Prior to the manufacturing technologies introduced from the 1790s, they were able to demand substantial

⁴DNB, Joyce entry.

⁵J. Joyce, Obituary notice of Hannah Joyce, *Monthly Repository*, 11, (1816), p.110.

⁶J. James, *History of the Worsted Manufacture in England from the Earliest Times* (Longmans, 1857), pp. 249-50.

⁷Hertfordshire Record Office, Parish of Cheshunt: Workhouse Minutes, 1753-1799, 4 July 1763.

⁸J. Burnley, *History of Wool and Woolcombing* (Sampson Low, 1889), p. 160.

wages. They had a strong sense of guild identity and restricted to their numbers in order to maintain their ability to command high wages - no woolcomber was allowed to take an apprentice other than his eldest son. However, the eldest son of Joyce's family - Joshua - did not follow his father's trade. Instead he ran a Tallow Chandlery in London at 48, Essex Street, just off the Strand.

Joyce's father held several civic positions in Cheshunt, fulfilling the duties of overseer of the poor, administrator of the parish of Cheshunt workhouse, churchwarden and subscriber and contributor to the local dissenters' school.⁹ The American War of Independence had serious negative effects on woolcombing by reducing trade, and may have brought economic hardship to the Joyce family.¹⁰ Nevertheless, Joyce senior maintained his support for the cause of the American War which was important for many dissenters because it represented the right to self-determination - consistent with the religious right to adopt dissenting religious practice.¹¹

Joyce's early years therefore, were influenced by artisan values and the aspiration to independent commercial success. Such values were expressed in his father's concern with civic duty, social paternalism, and independence, and were closely interwoven in the religious and political perspectives of dissent. The aspiration for social progress, the demand for freedom from the social and religious penalties of the Test and Corporation Acts, and the entrepreneurial commercialism of free enterprise, were all impulses which shaped the thinking and sentiment of the young Joyce.

⁹Hertfordshire Record Office, Parish of Cheshunt: Workhouse minutes, entries for 1759 & 1763; Dissenters' Charity School Record, 1764-1798 (A transcript plus introduction of *Dissenters Charity School Record*, Cheshunt 1764-1798 was made by Peter Rooke, Cheshunt, of the original which is a personal holding of Miss Street, Cheshunt), entries for 1766 & 1767.

¹⁰James, p. 316.

¹¹Jeremiah Joyce, *An account of the author's arrest for "Treasonable Practices"* (Printed for the author, 1794), p. 13.

2.2 Early life in Cheshunt

In Cheshunt, the Presbyterian chapel united with the Congregationalist chapel in 1733 and a substantial dissenters' meeting, known as Crossbrook St Chapel, survived there throughout the 18th Century.¹² Trust deeds for Crossbrook St Chapel were originally signed for Independents in 1705 but in Cheshunt the various dissenting groups appear to have united as a mainly Presbyterian community by the mid eighteenth century. A charity school attached to the chapel originally run by Independents, was founded in 1719 with the support of Sir Thomas Abney and the famous hymn writer and poet Isaac Watts, who lived close by.¹³ Ministers would perform the role of teacher and the Reverend Samuel Worsley (1741-1800) who was pastor from 1765 to his death in 1800, was Joyce's teacher. Worsley was educated at the famous Daventry Academy under Caleb Ashworth where he was exposed to the same curriculum and tutors as his contemporary at the Academy, Joseph Priestley. There is no record of the Cheshunt school curriculum but the rules of the school give some insight into the context of Joyce's school experience.

The chief Design of ye School is to teach poor children (who are very numerous in these parts and very ignorant) to read their bible, that by readg. they might be acquainted with ye things of religion; & that they might be a little civilised & made fitter to get their own Livg.: & all other Things were contrived & adjusted as far as possible to answer this Design without raising them above ye rank of Life in which Providence has placed them.¹⁴

The rules predate Joyce's attendance at the school by fifty years, but the theme of civilising poor children and fitting them to their social position through inculcation of appropriate competencies

¹²Urwick, p. 513.

¹³Urwick, p. 513/4; Peter Rooke, introduction to *Dissenters Charity School Record, 1764-1798* (Personal holding of Rooke), p. 1.

¹⁴*ibid.*, *Dissenters Charity School Record*.

and religious knowledge, was as much an imperative of the second half the eighteenth century, as it was of the first. The rules were built from 'Methods of Management...corrected and improved for ye good of ye learners', reflecting the traditions of benign patronage and the educational mission of dissenters and puritans that goes back to the sixteenth century and beyond.¹⁵ That 'Providence' was the origin of social station and that the goals of education should work to maintain an hierarchical social order was taken for granted. However, the focus on nurturing independence - 'to get their own livg', reflects the dissenting emphasis on independence and self-reliance - imperatives urged upon dissenters both by their religious views and their alienated social and political status.

The school was well established during Joyce's time and whilst ostensibly for dissenters, admitted children from the Established church and, unusually, admitted girls as well as boys. The school rules prescribed that:

The boys, besides their reading, are taught also to write a plain hand, & they learn arithmetic so far as addition subtraction and multiplication, that they may be able to make up a small bill of parcels suited to ye lower affairs of life. The girls are taught, besides reading, to knot, to work plain work, & to mark: & here and there one is instructed to write upon some just reason given by their parents.¹⁶

Worsley may also have taught elementary versions of some of the more radical curriculum items of Daventry - history, experimental philosophy and biblical criticism. Through Worsley's teaching of elementary mathematics, Joyce gained an interest in mathematics that he held throughout his life.

Robert Aspland's memoir of Joyce records Joyce's family as Protestant dissenters 'in humble life but of truly respectable character'.¹⁷ By Aspland's standards, Joyce's was a humble upbringing, but the socio-economic values and circumstances of Joyce's early years were those of independent

¹⁵ibid.

¹⁶*Dissenters Charity School Record*, p. 2.

¹⁷Aspland, *Memoir*.

industry, the economic and commercial realities of a small manufactory, and a sense of civic duty and social responsibility. To many Cheshunt citizens the Joyces may well not have been considered 'humble', and Joyce's own developing sense of self-identity and worth was not created from the experience of growing up as a member of the very lowest ranks of the social order. In a letter to his sister Elizabeth written in July 1783, when Joyce was twenty, he thanked divine providence for allowing his family to be brought up 'in a medium state, I mean free from poverty not [unreadable word] to the snares of licher'.¹⁸ A more accurate positioning of Joyce in terms of eighteenth century economic ranking, would be to see his family as lower middle class at the point where artisans moved up to occupy the position of small businessmen and employers. Aspland's description therefore, has to be treated with caution and as expressing Aspland's own middle class and early nineteenth century perspective wherein 'respectable' reflected an aping of middle class values and social deportment, rather than the rather older puritan meaning of 'respectability', which signified the ability to maintain oneself without the aid of charity with a sense of self respect and independence, obtained from engagement in a respectable occupation.

Joyce's early home life, exposed as it was to the civic and commercial concerns of his father and the dissenting religious flavours of pious devotion from his mother, provided a distinctive environment that nurtured Joyce's adult blend of religious conviction and social duty. While such influences may have had a different impact on his persona as perceived by the various social groups he moved in, in general Joyce held tightly to the lessons of his childhood and he lived out his parents' values to the full.

¹⁸MCO, Shepherd MSS, Vol. 6. No. 13

2.3 Apprentice in Georgian London

From the age of 14 to 23 (1786) Joyce worked as an apprentice, then journeyman painter and glazier in Georgian London. There is very little record of Joyce's life in this period and there are only snippets of information which help to locate his social and intellectual circumstances. In his day-to-day life Joyce would have had to negotiate the realities of the world of the London trades. Helen Joyce (Joyce's daughter) records that Joyce was placed apprentice to a Mr. Willis, Painter and Glazier, in the Strand.¹⁹ The work of the glazier in the 1770/80s underwent considerable development due to the change from fitting windows with leaded surrounds to fitting windows in wooden sashes. This would have decreased the amount of the glazier's work and passed more work to the carpenter, but would have had the beneficial effect of removing one of the dangers of the trade - that of lead poisoning due to the effects of melting and working lead.²⁰ Glaziers were also required to paint windows and the prominent situation of Joyce's employer in London's Strand, combined with the references to him as 'painter and glazier' (painters were a distinct trade), suggests that Joyce was involved in some of the more decorative and expensive projects in the expanding Georgian London.²¹

Constancy of work was a problem in the building trades, but painters and glaziers suffered particularly from seasonal restrictions on daylight hours and in the summer they had to work for 13 or 14 hours per day. They were also affected by the vagaries of the London social season which

¹⁹MCO, Shepherd MSS, Vol. 10. No 89, 1846, Helen Joyce to Hannah Joyce.

²⁰M.D.George, *London Life in the Eighteenth Century* (Penguin, 1965), p. 203.

²¹*London's Livery Companies* (Sampson Low, 1931), p. 285. There is the possibility that Helen Joyce's recollection was faulty and that Joyce was apprenticed not to a Willis but a Jervis (died 1799), a glass painter/artist referred to as 'Jarvis of the Strand' (real name Thomas Jervais) who had a workshop in Essex house. I am grateful to Dr. Trevor Brighton who feels that 'Painter and Glazier' was most likely to mean 'painter of glass' and suggests that Jervais was the only likely candidate as Joyce's employer.

restricted the time available for painting the residencies of the wealthy, and many suffered long periods of unemployment.²² Joyce would have been exposed to the sometimes harsh realities of the building trades, and to the necessities and difficulties of co-ordination and co-operation with different tradesmen - masons, carpenters, plasterers and painters.

Joyce may well have found fuel for some of his radical purposes during his time as an apprentice. There is a long history of London apprentices taking an oppositional stance to the decrees of Parliament and London's glaziers of the seventeenth century are recorded as being 'a truculent lot'.²³ It was the ability of London's journeymen to form their own committees and petition Parliament, and to do so armed with the latent threat of striking, that protected them against some of the worst effects of bad harvests and the unemployment felt in the provinces.²⁴ The London guilds feature significantly in the history of trade unionism and Joyce would have experienced the organisational impulses which conferred personal identity and social standing as a glazier. He would also have imbibed the social, political and economic impulses, expressed mainly through guild involvement in local government, which attempted to resist external power and oligarchic leadership.

The day-to-day reality of a glazier's work was only one feature of Joyce's early life. The social and religious perspective of the dissenters and religious leaders to whom he was exposed, were also major factors which circumscribed Joyce's world. As a youth, then a young man, living and working close to one of the centres of the dissenting intelligentsia - Theophilus Lindsey's Essex Street Unitarian Chapel - Joyce was physically and intellectually located at one of the fountainheads of emergent aspiration for social, religious and political reform. The period 1762 - 1782, the later part of which covered Joyce's apprenticeship and his teenage years, was 'the climax

²²George, p. 263 & 166.

²³*London's Livery Companies.*, p. 285.

²⁴Rude, *Hanoverian London*, p. 204.

both of the 18th century development of city self-consciousness and of its influences on national politics'.²⁵ Such London-based political consciousness links to the more general rise in extra-parliamentary pressure on politics, which became visible and organised in the same period through the activities of John Wilkes and the Middlesex electors, and Christopher Wyvill and the Association movement, and which served to establish the power of extra-parliamentary influence. Such reforming sentiment is further reflected in the mainly London-based groups such as the Society for Supporters of the Bill Rights (1769) and the Society for Constitutional Information (1780) which were passive expressions of resistance to the power of government and whose members had many connections with the Essex St. Chapel.

One of the most significant and influential events of Joyce's early teens was the American Revolution and the Declaration of Independence (1776), when Joyce was 13. Joyce's father's support for the War of Independence is recorded in nearly all biographical entries on Joyce, and Joyce himself records the influence his father had on developing his 'attachment to the principle of freedom' through his support for the colonists.²⁶ The American War was important for many dissenters because it asserted the right to self determination - consistent with the religious right to adopt dissenting religious practice. However, the war also functioned, symbolically at least, to align the themes of religious dissent with the themes of parliamentary reform.²⁷

London life had many lessons to offer the young Joyce. In 1780 (Joyce was 17), the anti-Catholic Gordon Riots in London exhibited some of the more ugly sides of civil protest and served to discredit the extra-parliamentary associations of the time.²⁸ Joyce could not have avoided the violent spectacle which continued for 6 days throughout the centre of London and whose violence

²⁵Sutherland 'The city of London', p. 55.

²⁶J.Joyce, *Account*, p. 13.

²⁷R.K.Webb. *Modern England* (Allen & Unwin, 1980), p. 94/5.

²⁸Frank M.Baglione 'Gordan Riots', in *Britain in the Hanoverian Age, 1714-1837* (Garland, 1997), p. 296.

was, initially at least, part-promoted by some of his fellow London apprentices.²⁹ He would have experienced the dangers and volatility of the Mob, witnessed the incompetence of the civil authorities, and the public accusations of cause which varied from 'foreign plot' to the anarchic intentions of the opposition to bring down the government.³⁰ There is no record of Joyce's sentiment over this event but it served to re-inforce a lesson to most reformers, that the general population could not simply be relied upon to act with reason and sentiments of justice.

Joyce's elder brother's tallow chandlery in Essex Street was very close to Theophilus Lindsey's Essex St. Chapel. As Joyce worked close by, it is likely that he stayed with his brother and from there began to be involved with Lindsey's church which Joyce attended on the day that it was formally opened in 1779.³¹ Lindsey had arrived in London in 1774 and had taken rooms in Essex Street, initially sponsored by Joseph Johnson the publisher. It was through the Essex Street Chapel that the propaganda of rational dissent was promulgated in the period 1783 - 1806.³² Both Lindsey and Johnson were to figure significantly throughout Joyce's subsequent career and it was through them that Joyce gained access to the distributive networks of dissenting and radical literature. Many of the reform leaders were connected either directly with the Essex St. Chapel or by virtue of having similar religious persuasion. Major John Cartwright and John Jebb were major figures of the reform movement and originators of the radical programme of parliamentary reform. Both were Unitarian in theology.³³ Jebb frequently attended Lindsey's Chapel, and Cartwright had many connections with dissenters who were members of the Society for Constitutional Information and who attended Essex St. - John Jebb, Richard Price, Thomas Hollis and Capell Loftt.³⁴ Whilst the

²⁹Christopher Hibbert, *King Mob* (Longmans, 1959), p. 135.

³⁰*ibid.*, p. 136.

³¹J. Joyce. 'On Unitarianism'. *Monthly Repository* 10, (1815), p. 260.

³²Ditchfield, p. 253.

³³Holt, p. 88.

³⁴DNB article on Jebb; John Osbourne, *John Cartwright* (Cambridge University Press, 1972), p. 25; Robbins, p. 369.

youthful and artisan Joyce may not have had intimate social contact with these figures, who were both older and held different positions in the social hierarchy, he would have seen them in the congregation and is likely to have encountered their reforming sentiment.

Joyce was (and remained throughout his life) alienated to some degree from much of the middle-class part of the dissenting community.³⁵ His social position in this period was that of an apprentice, then independent, artisan and he had to devote a large part of his energy to the realities, hardships and politics of that world. Alongside his personal cultural inheritance and his innate personal disposition, the rough and tumble of a workman's life imbued in him a forthright style that weighted candour at the expense of cleverness and tact.

On the more wider stage of intellectual ideas, utilitarianism was developed in Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (1776) and Jeremy Bentham's *A Fragment on Government* published in the same year. For both writers, the proper goal of government was to seek the greatest happiness for the greatest number. However, they disagreed on how to achieve that goal through social policy. Whilst Smith posited minimum interference from government, which, lead by 'an invisible hand', would inevitably bring good, Bentham preferred the deliberate use of legislation on the principle of felicity, as a means of procuring maximum happiness.³⁶ Their views represent a striking contrast in ideas and delineate two co-ordinates of eighteenth century liberalism. On the one hand, the 'invisible hand' in the form of divine providence, and on the other, the impulse to develop government based on reason rather than 'natural law', are central motifs of rational dissent. Smith's social science and Bentham's pursuit of rational planning, contributed vital intellectual tools with which to bring scientific methodology to religious, social and political life. The extension of scientific methodology was also the concern of Joseph Priestley who drew many of his

³⁵Seed. 'Jeremiah Joyce'.

³⁶R.K. Webb, *Modern England*, p. 124.

political ideas from the Wilkite agitation and the Association movement, and developed a utilitarian perspective.³⁷ Priestley famously developed and worked out these ideas whilst in continual contact and debate with two figures who would loom large in Joyce's life - Theophilus Lindsey and Richard Price. The youthful Joyce was unlikely to have shared much intellectual commerce with Priestley, Lindsey and Price at this point, but he is likely to have been exposed to the politico-religious discourse of those connected with the Essex St. Chapel.

Joyce spent between one and two years working as a journeyman prior to the point when he 'quit mechanical employments', and started his attendance at Hackney College in 1786.³⁸ As an artisan situated in Essex Street, Joyce was part of what Mark Philp has called an influential 'social substratum' of rational dissent which fuelled the radicalism that appeared in the 1790s.³⁹ This substratum was constituted not simply from the intellectual elite, but stretched from the aristocratic heights of the third Earl of Stanhope, who would later become Joyce's employer, to the intellectuals of the Bowood circle, and down to the skilled artisan classes. This substratum facilitated the transmission of ideas between members of different social groups.⁴⁰ It allowed Joyce, who was at its lowest social level, to connect with those above him in the social hierarchy. Furthermore, the substratum was significantly composed of two social groups which would nurture and facilitate Joyce throughout his life - dissenting ministers and publishers.

The area of London in which Joyce was living was a centre for many groups of reformers in the tradition of liberal thought. Joyce can be located within the tradition of the 'Commonwealthman', which links the Levellers of the puritan revolution through several generations to the reformers of

³⁷James J. Hoecker. 'Joseph Priestley and Utilitarianism in the age of reason', *Enlightenment and Dissent* 3, (1984), p. 55.

³⁸J. Joyce, Obituary notice of Joshua Joyce. *Monthly Repository* 11, (1816), p. 244.

³⁹Mark Philp, 'Rational religion and political radicalism in the 1790s', *Enlightenment and Dissent*. 4, (1985), 35-46, (p.41)

⁴⁰*ibid.*

Joyce's period, and which provided many of the impulses for the radicalism of the 1790s.⁴¹ The Grecian Tavern in Devereux Court, off Essex Street, was very close to where Joyce lived and worked and had been the meeting place for Mathew Tindal, John Molesworth and his friends.⁴² They were the early eighteenth century generation of Commonwealthmen. The last generation of such men met and worshipped in Lindsey's Essex Street Chapel. Inalienable rights, freedom to worship, resistance to oligarchic government, the application and use of reason, the empirical investigation of the natural world and the belief that the wealth of society should be held in common by its members were all elements of the commonwealthman tradition which informed rational dissent. Public discussion of such issues was an imperative among rational dissenters. They insisted on candid and rational exposition of ideas in discussion and debate.⁴³ As a member of the Essex Street congregation, and living in an area resonant with the history of reform it is likely that Joyce was exposed to such debates.

In 1784 (at the age of 21), on the completion of his apprenticeship, Joyce became a freeman of the city of London entitled to membership of the Common Council of London, and to ply his trade as journeyman in the city.⁴⁴ He appears to have remained aloof from many of the affairs and distractions of Georgian London. In his spare time he studied mathematics with the aid of Thomas Taylor the Platonist (1758-1835), and became an apprentice minister with Hugh Worthington (1752-1797), the Arian divine who preached at Salters Hall. He was deeply religious and in a letter to his younger sister Elizabeth, who was recovering from an illness in 1783, Joyce employed the preaching tones and metre no doubt gained through his study with Worthington. The letter carries both the flavours of brotherly concern and the youthful zeal of an apprentice minister:

⁴¹Robbins, pp. 3-21

⁴²Robbins, p. 7 & *passim*.

⁴³Philp, p. 37.

⁴⁴Shepherd MSS, Helen Joyce to sister Hannah, 1846.

To mind and love religion now whilst we are young. To respect and reverence the command of God. To adore the grace of Jesus. To delight in public worship and private devotion. Not to go to the house of God merely to have this or that doctrine displayed but to go there with this determination to go home again and practice the important duties of Christianity.⁴⁵

Joyce's life in this period can only be described with very broad brush strokes as there is very little primary source evidence. Artisan culture, the pressure for reform, and membership of the group of metropolitan rational dissent, were the major influences on him and provided the context in which he passed his teens and early twenties.

2.4 Arian influences 1780-86

The theme of rational dissent (adherents frequently addressed themselves as rational dissenters), connects the ideas, individuals and the distinctive social group centred around Richard Price, Theophilus Lindsey and Joseph Priestley. Its major characteristics were the demand for civil and religious liberty, to worship according to one's conscience, the promotion of reason-based biblical criticism, and the requirement for personal deportment characterised by independent thought, candour and piety. This web of ideas was held together by the essentially religious concern for the spiritual life which placed theological argument prior to political argument.⁴⁶ Rational dissenters both engaged and studied the social and natural world, with an assumption of spiritual metaphysics and the claim of reason-based creation. Whilst Unitarianism was the exemplar of rational dissent, Unitarian theology was largely a progression from Arianism, and like many others, notably Joseph Priestley, Joyce moved through an Arian phase. At the age of 14 Joyce began to attend the lectures of the Arian minister Hugh Worthington (1752 - 1813) who was the preacher at Salters Hall.

⁴⁵MCO, Shepherd MSS, Vol. 6 No 13, Joyce to sister Elizabeth, 21 July 1783.

⁴⁶Martin Fitzpatrick, 'Science and Society in the Enlightenment', *Enlightenment & Dissent* 4, (1985), 83-105 (p. 84).

Joyce studied with Worthington throughout his 7 year glazier's apprenticeship and up to his entry to Hackney College in 1786.⁴⁷

Arianism was the doctrine propounded by the Greek theologian Arius (?250-336AD), who asserted that Christ was not of one substance with the Father, but a creature raised by the Father to the dignity of the Son of God. This doctrine was challenged by Athanasius (?296-373AD), patriarch of Alexandria, and was pronounced heretical at the first council of Nicaea (325AD). The doctrine was revived by some early eighteenth century Anglicans - notably Samuel Clarke (1675-1729), and William Whiston (1667-1752), as well as by Presbyterian dissenters. Both Arians and Unitarians claimed their line of doctrinal descent from Socinianism which denied that Christ was a person of the Trinity. The implications of this theological argument were that if Christ was not a person of the Trinity then the doctrine of atonement was meaningless, man was not in need of redemption and original sin did not descend by inheritance. Furthermore, man could be understood as essentially good and capable of organising himself. A further consequence was that if Christ did not possess absolute and divine authority, the notion of apostolic succession through the church was also null and void, and therefore dissenting ministers had as much claim on religious truth as did any other minister.⁴⁸

The relatively short time span over which Arianism held sway as a theological doctrine and its subsequent replacement by Unitarianism, reflects the weakness of its heuristic power. Arianism solved the major theological problem of whether or not there was a time when Christ did not exist, by making him divine but a subordinate creation of the Father. But one of the consequences of the doctrine, was that it left the attributes of mercy and forgiveness to Jesus - who served as a mediator between man and God. While Arianism promoted critical scrutiny of orthodox Trinitarian

⁴⁷Jeremiah Joyce 'Memoir of the Rev Hugh Worthington', *Monthly Repository*, 8 (1813) 561-577.

⁴⁸Jonathan C.D. Clark, *English Society 1688-1832: Ideology, Social Structure and Political Practice during the Ancien Regime* (Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 281.

doctrine, it also produced an hierarchical and complex theological framework with God at the top, man at the bottom and Jesus and the Holy ghost in between.⁴⁹ Arianism offered a complex and confusing conception which invited the application of Occam's razor wielded by such powerful natural philosophers and rational minds as Nathaniel Lardner (1684-1768) and Joseph Priestley. Priestley's thinking dominated the rational dissenting world in general and his *History of Early Opinions concerning Jesus Christ* (1786) exhaustively accounted the origins of Trinitarian and Arian doctrines, and posited Unitarianism as the true and primitive theology.⁵⁰ Both Lardner and Priestley had been Arians but rejected it as a doctrine in favour of a Unitarian position in which Jesus was not divine, rather he was a man to whom God spoke directly. Joyce shared in this progression and became a Unitarian in 1786.

Arianism had imported the platonic idea of the Logos and held that the Word that appears in the opening chapter of John's Gospel was the Logos, and was both the first created being and the Christ. There are similarities between the divine entities of Arianism and the essential ideas of platonism and Joyce's exposure to platonic ideas was primarily through their use by Arians - notably by Richard Price with whom he studied in 1786 at Hackney College, but also through his connection with Thomas Taylor (1758-1835), who was a co-aspirant for the dissenting ministry and studied with Worthington at the same time as Joyce. Little is known about Taylor in this period except that he would give lectures on Platonism at Flaxman's House in the 1780's, that he was an influence on William Blake, and that he translated many works from Greek.⁵¹ It is unclear whether Joyce had contact with Taylor beyond the Worthington connection, but it is clear that Taylor gave

⁴⁹Olive Griffiths, *Religion and Learning: A study in English Presbyterian thought from the Bartholomew Ejections (1662) to the foundation of the Unitarian Movement* (Cambridge University Press, 1935), pp. 36/7.

⁵⁰Joseph Priestley, *History of Early Opinions concerning Jesus Christ* (Birmingham: For the Author, 1786).

⁵¹K.Raine & G.Harper, *Thomas Taylor the Platonist*, (Routledge, 1969), p. 3.

some instruction to Joyce in mathematics and seems to have had a considerable effect on him.⁵² An 1816 biographical entry describes Joyce as 'A dissenting teacher of the Unitarian persuasion, taught by Mr Taylor the noted platonist'.⁵³ Taylor was 5 years older than Joyce and, like Joyce, had nonconformist and artisan origins. Their shared efforts and aspirations, combined with their social origins may have promoted their friendship.

Worthington had a special appeal to the youthful Joyce who referred to him as his 'favorite preacher', whose sermons he felt were "instructive, plain, scriptural and adapted to the young".⁵⁴ Worthington had a charisma and a personal style that maintained Joyce's affection for him despite later theological disagreements. Worthington wrote *The Progress of Moral Corruption.... A Sermon* (1778), which urged constant personal vigilance and religious duty.⁵⁵ Joyce quoted at length from this sermon in his memoir of Worthington and he selected colourful passages which exhorted the listener to love God and which warned that without the proper form of devotion the:

.. agency of his holy spirit is withdrawn and a man is left to struggle by himself, amidst the tossing waves of appetite, and the dreadful rocks of temptation - like a ship torn from her cable.⁵⁶

Worthington's preaching was indicative of the style of practical preaching to Georgian congregations which attempted to encourage reflection on living a Christian life. Worthington maintained an evangelical thrust in his sermons but exhorted his congregations to consider immediate Christian concerns in their worldly engagements. This goes some way to explain his

⁵²Aspland's memoir and DNB.

⁵³Watkins and Shoberl, *Universal Biographical Dictionary*, (Longman, 1816), Joyce entry.

⁵⁴Joyce's memoir of Worthington, p.561.

⁵⁵Hugh Worthington, *The Progress of Moral Corruption. A Sermon* (Johnson, 1778).

⁵⁶Joyce's memoir of Worthington, p. 574.

popularity with, and focus upon, young people (of whom Joyce was one), as the major effort of his preaching was to relate scripture to tangible and immediate ends.

One of the vivid features of London in 1780s was the swelling population which was due mainly to the migration of workers seeking employment. Such an increase included large numbers of children and young people and presented a very visible social problem. The increased congestion of London's physical and social geography brought with it human and social needs which appealed to dissenters who ascribed the cause of social need, in part, to current and unjust social structures. For many dissenters the progress of society necessitated care of its most vulnerable members and the perceived needs of the youth of the metropolis, prey to the ever present distractions of drink and gambling, presented an opportunity for dissenters to point out social ills and dangers and recommend increased biblical knowledge amongst children and young people, as the solution. The *raison d'être* of many of Joyce's later popular works was his paternalistic concern to care for young men who came to London. This was a moral and religious concern that such young men should not fall into bad ways and that they should be usefully occupied. Joyce who was himself a young man come to London and who found himself under the wing of Hugh Worthington, inherited the paternalistic attitudes of the ministry in trying to guide the path of youth away from the social evils and temptations present in abundance in London, and towards a model of upright and moral citizenship. Joyce spoke passionately of Worthington's endeavours to provide moral instruction and guidance:

He studied the human heart, and was quick in the application of his knowledge to the purposes of moral instruction. Hence he was perpetually urging those just embarked on the dangerous ocean of life, to mark with a firm and steady opposition allurements intended to

draw from the path of rectitude: to be satisfied with such pleasures as were simple, innocent and manly.⁵⁷

Worthington's endeavour to guide the vulnerable was inherited by Joyce who, throughout his life, saw his educational efforts in terms of 'guiding the steps of the young into the temple of knowledge'.⁵⁸

The tradition of the ministry was in Joyce's background. With the encouragement of Worthington, through the mid 1780s the option of studying for the ministry began to take shape. The plans for a dissenters' academy in Hackney which would both provide for the educational needs of London's dissenting commercial and professional community and provide a supply of dissenting ministers, were in hand in 1784 and Hugh Worthington was a member of its governing body. Joyce's candidature was justified through his connections with Worthington and Lindsey and by his record of private study. Furthermore, in the eyes of the rational dissenting ministry, raising and training an artisan to the position of minister, fulfilled their image of social progress and educational gradualism.

2.5 The integration of theological and political ideas

It has been argued that the heretical doctrines of Arianism and Socinianism produced a theological heterodoxy which was conceptually basic to the emergence of the radical and democratic principles in the late eighteenth century.⁵⁹ Support for this claim is witnessed in the efforts of rational dissenters who simultaneously promoted an anti-Trinitarian theology and urged reform of parliament. Such theological and political challenges were based on powerful and linked concepts which were instrumental in Joyce's intellectual circumstances. By denying the Trinity,

⁵⁷ *ibid.*, p. 577.

⁵⁸ *ibid.*

⁵⁹ A.M.C. Waterman, 'The nexus between theology and political doctrine in Church and Dissent', in Haakonssen, pp. 193-218.

rejecting the Book of Common Prayer and the Athanasian creed it contained, non-orthodox dissenters challenged not only established ecclesiastical polity but civil polity as well.

Establishment and Tory sentiment held that civil government was the ordinance of God, as much as ecclesiastical government was the ordinance of the church, and therefore to attack one through the demand for civil and religious liberty, was to undermine the other.

The crux of the political argument lay in the manner in which liberty was claimed and secured. Establishment sentiment held that liberty was the product of the equilibrium of forces which had to be maintained by a complex of laws and which denied, via the Test and Corporation Acts and the oaths of allegiance, equal citizenship to anyone who would not subscribe to the Established church. Dissenters on the other hand, took a largely contractarian view of government, which was a concept that invested authority in the state only so long as the individual had a claim on social justice.⁶⁰ Many dissenters, including Joyce, viewed the Glorious Revolution of 1688 as an example of the proper action of a government which legitimately removed a monarch who had broken his contract with government and the people.⁶¹ The claim of the right to cashier the monarchy in the interests of maintaining the harmonious balance of the three estates - Monarchy, Lords and Commons - was a claim that structured dissenting sentiment.

For the dissenter, the authority of the state was bestowed by the individual on the state. As individual conscience was not bestowed by the state, and civil society effectively discriminated against dissenters who exercised their individual conscience in their choice of worship, civil polity violated their rights and was inconsistent with their view of the founding principles of government.⁶² The appeal on the behalf of dissenters for freedom to worship was, from their point of view, an appeal to the state to give back something that had been taken away from them through

⁶⁰Henriques, p. 97.

⁶¹Joyce, *Appendix*, p. 12/13.

⁶²Alan Saunders, 'The state as highwayman: from candour to rights', Haakossen, p. 246.

the corrupt practises of the established church and current and previous governments. The appeal seen from the position of the early reform movement, was really an appeal to the candour, to the honesty of those in government, to give back something that had been taken away. By the period of Joyce's teens the language of reform posited government as the representation of persons rather than interests.⁶³ The new language, equipped with Locke's natural and inalienable rights and refined and articulated by reformers like Price and Priestley, became more vociferous and oppositional, especially following the failure of the Feathers Tavern petition and the subsequent bill for the relief of dissenters which was thrown out by the Lords in 1773. The development of Joyce's political ideas took place in the space between the call for candour and the demand for universal rights that would be later seen most vividly in the works of Thomas Paine. John Seed rightly characterises Joyce as being transformed from 'a self taught glazier to a committed political radical' in his period at Hackney College (discussed below), but Joyce's contacts with Lindsey, Worthington and the many political reformers associated with their congregations, combined with his social experience as a dissenter prior to the time when he entered Hackney (1786 - 89), meant that he would have already been familiar with the language of political ideas and reforming demands.⁶⁴

The tradition of rational dissent stood squarely in the tradition of Protestantism that tried to read current and future events in terms of biblical prophecy. The line of descent of millenarianism most influential on Joyce, goes through Isaac Newton to William Whiston and from David Hartley to Joseph Priestley. The millenarian thread will be examined more closely in the next chapter in relation to views of the French Revolution, which, for many millenarian dissenters, was prophecy

⁶³D.O. Thomas, *The Honest Mind: The Thought and Work of Richard Price*, (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1977), p. 284.

⁶⁴Seed, p. 98.

realised.⁶⁵ However, it is important to note that millenarianism was an important feature of rational dissent and, thus one of the influences upon Joyce. Millenarianism offered an optimistic anticipation of the future. It is one of the religious underpinnings of the aspiration for social progress that is so much part of the force of rational dissent. We cannot know Joyce's view of biblical prophecy at this point but it is clear that the ideas of millenarianism, particularly Priestley's version of it, was part of the intellectual and religious atmosphere when Joyce was a young man.

2.6 Hackney College: from Arianism to Unitarianism

Such was the suspicion and hostility that Hackney College provoked that when it closed in 1796, a writer for the *Gentleman's Magazine* commented that the 'slaughterhouse of Christianity' had fallen.⁶⁶ The College only survived for 10 years failing though falling numbers, lack of subscriptions and dubious financial management. Its highest profile was gained in the years immediately following the French Revolution when Joseph Priestley, Thomas Belsham, and Gilbert Wakefield were tutors, and when William Godwin, Samuel Rogers and William Hazlitt were students. Hackney was seen as a hotbed of radicalism at a time when any criticism of the government could be construed as treasonable. Joyce, however, was at the College in its first years. Whilst the radicalism of tutors and students was a consistent feature of his time there, the College was not the high-profile target of anti-reform and nationalist sentiment that it would become following the commencement of the wars with France.

Hackney College was one in a line of fairly short-lived eighteenth century dissenting academies that shared many tutors (notably Joseph Priestley and Thomas Belsham). Such academies catered both for the educational needs of the commercial classes of dissenters, debarred as they were from

⁶⁵Garrett, p. 225.

⁶⁶Quoted in H.W.Stephenson, 'Hackney College and William Hazlitt', *TUHS* 4, 3, (1929): 219-247, 376-411 (p. 235).

Oxford and Cambridge, and for the training of dissenting (mainly Presbyterian) ministers. Hackney had been planned by a group of dissenting London ministers and laymen for a number of years, and in January 1786 the College was started by a committee which included Hugh Worthington.⁶⁷ Joyce was one of the first intake of four in October 1786, with Thomas Broadhurst, Michael Maurice and Joseph Towers.⁶⁸ Joyce, Broadhurst and Towers were divinity students and all were on College foundations provided through the trustees of the Presbyterian Fund which meant that they were excused from the sixty guinea sessional tuition and board fees. However, other costs would have to have been borne by the student or the student's friends and family. Joyce used a £200 patrimony he received subsequent to the death of his father and he is also recorded as having been supported by his brother Joshua.⁶⁹

There seems to have been some flexibility as far as Joyce was concerned, in the rules and regulations governing both entry and the length of the appropriate period of study. The 'Terms of Admission into the New Institution' state that for admission, in addition to being 'well recommended both as to conduct and qualifications', lay students should be aged between 15 and 18. Divinity students had to be over 16. It is clear that the general expectation was that new students (rather than those transferring from other Colleges), should be in their teens.⁷⁰ Joyce was 23 when he entered. Also the normal length of time for the course of study for a divinity student was 5 years but Joyce stayed only three and a half years. This was probably due to the length of time he had previously been studying with Worthington - around two years - having been taken into consideration.

⁶⁷ For Hackney see Ruth Watts, 'Revolution and Reaction: 'Unitarian' academics, 1780 - 1800, *History of Education*, 20, 4 (1991), 307-323; H.W. Stephenson; A. Steinhof, 'New College, Hackney - A Dissenting Academy 1786 - 1796', (MA Dissertation Leicester 1978); H. McLachlan, 'The Old Hackney College', *TUHS* 3, 3 (1929):185-205.

⁶⁸ DWL, *Hackney College Minute Book*, 1785-1791.

⁶⁹ Aspland, *Memoir*, p. 697.

⁷⁰ DWL 'Terms of admission into the New Institution' provided as appendix to Steinhof.

The first sessions were given in the Dr Williams Library, Red Cross Street before the College moved to its permanent home - the stately mansion of Homerton Hall, set in 18 acres in Hackney. Close proximity to London enabled its tutors, who were mainly ministers of London dissenting communities, to carry on their regular duties. It also offered accessible higher education to London's wealthy dissenters. However, such proximity also presented the distractions of London which may have been a major contributory factor in the level of indiscipline in the College.⁷¹ Such indiscipline was in breach of the 'Laws of the Institution. Part One. For Family Government and Order', which outlined a regime for the running of the College and gave clear instructions as to how students should behave.⁷² Teaching was over 6 days and students were required to attend morning and afternoon services at some place of public worship on the Sabbath. The rules detail how and when students should arise, the appropriate rota of ringing the bell to awaken students, the calling of registers, punishments for late arrivals and for neglect of duties. No 'Games for money' were allowed, 'no removal of candles from the common hall', no 'intercourse between the students and the kitchen or those parts of the house appropriate to the use of the Servants' (ruleXI).

Hackney College was, in academic terms, probably a much richer, more varied and more intellectually challenging educational experience than that found in the two English Universities.⁷³ Its curriculum demanded a critical engagement with many subjects such as biblical criticism and experimental philosophy. However, it also maintained its concern to train ministers and required students to give regular (monthly) orations, sometimes in Latin, on various subjects. Two examples with provocative titles from the later period of the College were 'The evil and wickedness of war, especially of that in which we have been and are now fatally engaged' and 'Discourse on the best

⁷¹Watts, p. 311; McLachlan, p. 253

⁷²DWL & Steinhof, appendix.

⁷³McLachlan, p.254.

method of the education of youth'.⁷⁴ Such orations required students to consider use of argument and rhetoric and served to develop their abilities to perform in the dramatic setting of the pulpit. At Hackney Joyce therefore gained not only an academic education but a training in public speaking.

Hackney covered a relatively wide range of subjects and nurtured the sense of critical enquiry consistent with the themes of liberal education. The curriculum was divided between tutors and included the classics, geography, grammar, rhetoric and composition, chronology, history - ecclesiastical and civil, mathematics, astronomy, natural and experimental philosophy and chemistry, logic, metaphysics and ethics, the evidences of religion, theology, and biblical criticism. Joyce may have found some similarities between the offerings at Hackney and his very early education with Samuel Worsley as much of the curriculum was similar to that of Daventry where Worsley had studied.

Abraham Rees (1743-1825), with whom Joyce was later to work on the famous Rees's *Cyclopedia* (1803), taught Hebrew, ecclesiastical history, maths, astronomy and modern geography.⁷⁵ Andrew Kippis (1725-95), a life long reformer, taught ancient geography, universal grammar and the principles of government. Richard Price (1723-91), who through age and ill health, only taught at the College for its first year, lectured in moral science and higher mathematics. In addition to the F.R.S. trio of Kippis, Rees and Price, Hugh Worthington taught logic and classics, G.C.Morgan helped with mathematics and science and John Kiddell who was the resident tutor, helped with classics.⁷⁶

Several students had transferred to Hackney from Daventry - John Corrie, John Kentish and William Shepherd, who was to become Joyce's lifetime friend. The College environment was quite

⁷⁴Steinhof, p. 38.

⁷⁵Abraham Rees, *The Cyclopedia; or Universal Dictionary of Art, Science and Literature*, (Longmans et al., 1819).

⁷⁶Smith, pp. 171-178.

intimate, never having more than 50 students and, for the greater part of Joyce's stay, fewer than 20. Joyce was significantly older than many of the others and was from an artisan background whereas the College was designed for the sons of wealthy dissenters. He was not comfortably off and had to work in the College Library cataloguing books for which he received 10 guineas a year.⁷⁷

One of Joyce's fellow students, Thomas Broadhurst, has provided a small insight into Joyce's educational experience whilst studying with Richard Price:

The good doctor [Price] had only three pupils to attend upon him, Mr David Jones, Mr Jeremiah Joyce and myself, these three being the only students then in the College sufficiently advanced to attend Dr Price's lectures which were given in Jebb's Excerpta, from Newton's Principia and Dr Thomas Simpson's Treatise on Fluxions. Dr Price, however, gave but very few lectures at all while in his situation of Professor at Hackney College, both tutor and pupils being better pleased to fill up their lecture hours in agreeable conversation on philosophy or on politics, rather than employ it in difficult and abstract calculations.⁷⁸

Joyce's previous study of mathematics with Taylor probably aided his proficiency and as a result brought him to Price's attention. It may also have been through these conversations that Price first formed a favourable impression of Joyce - shown in his later recommendation of Joyce to the Earl of Stanhope.

Given Joyce's later reputation as a notorious radical and 'acquitted felon' gained largely through his time in the Tower under the charge of treason, one might have anticipated numerous accounts of him as a revolutionary leader of the academy that Edmund Burke saw as 'the new

⁷⁷DWL, College Minute Books, p. 93.

⁷⁸T.Broadhurst, *The Christian Reformer*, 4, (March 1848), p. 172.

arsenal in which the subversive doctrines and arguments were formed'.⁷⁹ However, I have only found one rather oblique comment relating to Joyce in this period from H.W. Stephenson, writing on Hazlitt and which, unfortunately, does not give an explicit primary source. According to Stephenson, Joyce's 'political views were such as to make it inadvisable for them to be too freely advertised', which meant that they were pro-French and republican.⁸⁰ It is clear that both students and tutors welcomed the French Revolution, as news of the fall of the Bastille was greeted with applause and satisfaction by students as the first word of it was brought to England by one of the College tutors - George Cadogan Morgan. General support within the College for the Republican cause was also given by the 'republican suppers' held there.⁸¹ However, it is not possible from this one comment from a secondary source, to determine Joyce's precise political position at this point.

Joyce was not taken into the new dissenting academy as a embryonic political radical. He was taken in as an aspirant minister who was hard working and religiously committed. The fact of his lowly social origins may well have flattered some of the progressive and liberal values some of the members of the committee and may exemplify what John Seed calls a 'rapprochement' between the radical intelligentsia and the lower artisan classes.⁸² But he was clearly an exception. There was no other student from a similar background, and the general ethos of the College was to provide an education for the dissenting middle classes. Joyce's place was gained not through a tendency for radicalism, but his compliance with the values of the middle class metropolitan dissenting community.

The annual Hackney College sermons delivered in April or May by Kippis (1786), Price (1787), Rees (1788) and Worthington (1789) and printed shortly afterwards, were all delivered to

⁷⁹E.Burke. 'Appeal from the new to the old Whigs', *Works*, Vol. 6, (Rivington, 1808), pp 69 -268 (p. 225).

⁸⁰Stephenson, p. 381.

⁸¹McLachlan, p. 199/200.

⁸²Seed, p. 107.

London congregations and were addressed to 'the supporters of a New Academical Institution'.⁸³

The sermons included a description of what the curriculum contained, why the College was necessary and what benefits it offered to the laity. They also pointed out the need for the proper training and provision of ministers and why the dissenting community should support the College. The sermons acted as an advertisement, a request for financial support and a means of reporting to the subscribers. They exhibit the social and economic links between the London dissenting community and the College. The distinctive strength and cohesion of the social network of the London Dissenting community, was created partly in response to the external social pressures and the discrimination to which Dissenters had been subjected. The forging of links between the ministry and the laity through a shared educational experience in the same College, was important not least because it nurtured friendships upon which the ministry depended for financial support.

The role of the educator in delivering the lessons of scripture was one of the key linkages in this social network and was perceived from within the dissenting community as having considerable importance. In his 1789 sermon Hugh Worthington outlined the importance of a rounded education:

Every institution calculated to afford COMPLETE instruction to youth designed for the ministry, must be of essential importance to the advancement of religious knowledge, and to the extension of religious candour. If young ministers are but half educated, how can they be the means of diffusing these blessings in the church and the world? Can a man give what he has not? If the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch.⁸⁴

Hackney College was a focus for oppositional politics in the years either side of the French Revolution. Hackney students were in the gallery of the House of Commons on 2 March 1790

⁸³Smith, pp. 171-178.

⁸⁴Hugh Worthington, *A sermon ..To the Supporters of a New Academical Institution among Protestant Dissenters*, (T. Cadell and J. Johnson, 1789), p. 45/6.

when Charles James Fox gave his celebrated Speech against the Test and Corporation Acts, and many students attended the lengthy profile trial of Warren Hastings. Richard Price, whose address to the Reform Society in 1789 provoked Burke's famous *Reflections*, was strongly associated with the College.⁸⁵ Joyce had left the College by the time Priestley and Wakefield arrived, but three of his tutors - Kippis, Rees and Price - were all active in radical politics. (Figure 3). Students of the College, therefore, were very visible to London society as potential political radicals. The College's physical proximity to London was provocative to the houses of metropolitan power and presented a visible challenge to the establishment. This sense of visibility to more orthodox London society and Church of England circles is reflected in the references made to the College in Humphrey's and Cruikshank's cartoons of the period which linked Hackney College, 'old Phlogoston' (Priestley) and the Crown and Anchor (meeting place of the London Societies).⁸⁶

The highest profile of the College was gained after Priestley joined in 1791 and it is to that period that most secondary commentaries are focused. Furthermore, the famous essayist Hazlitt attended Hackney in this later period and it is from his letters to his father that a picture of the day-to-day life and the educational diet of the College is drawn.⁸⁷ For Hazlitt the writings of David Hartley were a major part of his reading in an educational programme heavily dominated by Priestley. It is unclear whether Joyce was exposed to exactly the same diet, but it is likely that the writings of Priestley and Hartley were included within a curriculum which promoted rigorous analysis. A major component of the curriculum was biblical criticism which engendered the critique of orthodox doctrines such as original sin, the immaculate conception, the atonement and

⁸⁵Richard Price. *The Discourse on the Love of our country*. Delivered Nov. 4th 1789 to Revolution society in the London Tavern. In Gregory Claeys, *Political Writings of the 1790s*, 8 Vols (Pickering, 1995), pp 3-23.

⁸⁶See M.D. George *Catalogue of Personal and Political Satire*. Vol. 7, (British Museum, 1942).

⁸⁷Both Smith and McLachlan use this source.



Figure 3. The Repeal of the Test Acts. Priestley (left), Lindsey (middle) and Price (right). BMC 7628. 16 February 1790. James Sayers. Reproduced in H.T.Dichenson, *Caricatures and the Constitution 1760-1832* (Chadwyck-Healey, 1986), p. 121.

the existence of Satan. Such a critique was applied to all theologies including Arianism, and, with the empiricism of David Hartley's associationist psychology, the works of the Arian turned Unitarian Nathaniel Lardner, and with Priestley's works which demanded that there should be no theological or metaphysical constructs other than those based on reason and evidence, the complex theological position of Arianism became untenable for Joyce. His rejection of Arianism was not without its personal difficulties and he became estranged from Hugh Worthington who was quite vehement in his opposition to the development of Unitarianism and to the doctrine of necessity.⁸⁸ Joyce lost confidence in the Arian position and fell out with his former tutor, recording that Worthington no longer spoke to him after he had challenged Worthington on the issue of the existence of a devil.⁸⁹

Arianism was the dominant theological view in the period of Joyce's stay - Price, Rees, and Worthington were all Arians and whilst Kippis 'tended to Socinianism', he disapproved of the title Unitarian.⁹⁰ It wasn't until Priestley and Belsham arrived - at the point when Joyce was leaving - that Unitarianism became the dominant theological position in the College. It is however difficult to identify a simple historical transition in either the position of Joyce or the College as a whole, as Unitarians were clearly involved in the College from its inception (notably Theophilus Lindsey and Joseph Priestley), and Arians maintained their involvement beyond the point when high-profile Unitarians became tutors. Such theological differences did not force a divide between camps within rational dissent - famously Price an Arian, and Priestley a Unitarian, remained firm friends. It also did not prevent Price, the Arian, from recommending Joyce, the Unitarian, to the Earl of Stanhope.

Joyce adopted the view that the evidence of a creator was manifest in the design of the natural world and, in particular, in the form and functions of the human mind and body. Joyce's adoption

⁸⁸Joyce, Worthington Memoir, p. 573.

⁸⁹Joyce, 'On Unitarianism', *Monthly Repository*, Vol. 10, 1815, p. 745.

⁹⁰DNB, Kippis entry.

of rational and empirically based reasoning following Newton and Locke, re-enforced his denial of the supernatural elements of the theology of the Trinity and promoted him to see the single unity of the godhead as creator, provider, designer and judge. On the basis of such an account the connection between the act of creation and the purposes of a creator was obvious. A creator must have had a purpose in designing the human form and giving humans reason, as everything is infused with design and purpose. Such purpose could be recognised by correct application of reason based on an empirical examination of the natural world.

Joyce's political radicalism was fundamentally justified on the basis of a Unitarian theology and on the epistemology that went with it. For Joyce, to explain the hidden mechanisms behind the phenomena of the physical world, it was necessary to apply reason. The demand for reason in matters of interpreting the physical world transferred to the demand for reason in matters of the socio-political world. The status of reason as an intellectual standard within the religious world view of rational dissent cannot be overestimated. For Unitarians of the period unjust social action in the form of discrimination against dissenters acting according to their conscience, was a contravention of reason and therefore a contravention of the will of God. Reason was the action of God and deciphering the rational plan of the world through the exercise of reason, was both consistent with the religious perspective of rational dissent and a fulfilment of the reason-based divine plan. Natural philosophy and the methodology of science was therefore the logical extension of the Unitarian religious programme. Ruth Watts has perceptively drawn the links between scientific reasoning and the Unitarian religious programme in which Joyce was involved.

Thence their [Unitarians] active interest in all kinds of science and their enthusiastic application of scientific method to all aspects of existence made them the keenest pursuers of knowledge, supremely confident that good alone could result from open, keen enquiry. Tolerant and optimistic they sought a new, just, moral order in society. It was this enlightened religious quest which informed all their enquiries and which, in its constant

submission of all established forms to the test of reason, drew accusations from the more traditional majority in England of subversion and revolution.⁹¹

Joyce was immersed in a community that had strong social connections and that looked to highly educated ministers to provide its leadership. He might have expected to join an established ministry for a number of years before taking charge of a congregation himself. He might have expected his efforts to be focused on the pastoral and on the soterial roles of a dissenting minister in which education had a vital but secondary role. However, it wasn't in a public ministry that Joyce first found employment but with the politically radical Earl of Stanhope, ostensibly at least, as tutor to his children.

⁹¹Ruth Watts, 'Revolution and Reaction: 'Unitarian' Academics, 1780 - 1800, *History of Education*, 20, 4 (1991): 307-323 (p. 308).

Chapter 3

Radicalism, dissent and publication

3.1 Introduction

J.R.Dinwiddy has observed that it was the combination of the ideas of classical-republicanism, Enlightenment optimism and religious millenarianism that formed the political outlook of anti-Trinitarian dissenters.¹ Joyce's ideas in the early 1790s evolved from exactly these three elements. Whilst not openly hostile to a hereditary monarchy and not an overt Painite republican, Joyce's political programme aspired to universal male representation and a democratic state secured through the use of reason and the increase of education which, he believed, were the mechanisms and means of divine providence. Influenced by Richard Price and Joseph Priestley, who interpreted the outbreak of the French Revolution as the fulfilment of prophesy, the presage of the fall of the Antichrist and the approach of the millennium, Joyce mixed an optimistic belief in the power of reason to understand the world and organise society, with an absolute belief in a beneficent God.²

In the first five years of the 1790s, Joyce actively pursued and promoted the goal of the reform of Parliament and in so doing gained a reputation as a radical that would have a substantial effect on the rest of his life. Like many, following the 1794 Treason Trials and the 1795 Gagging Acts, he withdrew from the public stage of politics. However he did continue, albeit in a different form, his fundamental political goals through a process of educational gradualism achieved by the publication of educational works. Whilst in the early 1790s Joyce was involved in political education through the publication of political works and pamphlets, he subsequently produced

¹J.R.Dinwiddy, p. 170.

²ibid.

educational works most of which were concerned with science. In the early 1790s he also became involved in the London publishing industry with which he would be engaged for the rest of his life.

The primary sources which record the years of Pitt's 'terror', and of the rise and repression of radical politics in the early and mid 1790s have been discussed by E.P. Thompson, Albert Goodwin, Eric Hobsbawm, Clive Emsley, H.T. Dickenson and many others. However, Joyce's role in these events has been largely omitted. His biography in the early 1790s not only traces some of the themes that inform much of his substantial literary production, it also reveals an interesting set of links in emergent political radicalism, Unitarianism and developing print culture. The growth of British political culture was dependant on the growth of the press and the increase in political information.³ Joyce the Unitarian, positioned on the stage of metropolitan radicalism with close associations to a major centre of religious dissent and the leading Whig opponent to the government Earl Stanhope, contributed to the increase of political information through his major involvement in radical societies and the publication of radical literature.

3.1 Joyce's appointment as tutor to the Earl of Stanhope's son Mahon

On 20 January 1790, after four years at Hackney, Joyce presented his compliments and thanks to the Hackney College Committee, and took up employment with the third Earl of Stanhope.⁴ His move into an aristocratic household presented him with a starkly contrasting environment to that of his previous world of a London tradesman. Stanhope had six children, the first three from his first wife Lady Hester Pitt (1755-80, sister to William Pitt), were girls (Hester 14, Griselda 12 and Lucy 10). Joyce was employed as tutor to Stanhope's eldest son Mahon (1781-1855), who was his fourth child and first son from his second marriage to Louisa Grenville (1758-1829), and was nine years old in 1790. There were two other male children, Charles and James, who were five and two

³H.T. Dickenson, p.2.

⁴DWL, *Hackney College Minutes* 1785-1791, p. 127.

respectively when Joyce began his employment. Given Joyce's artisan background it is hard to imagine that he was employed to educate Mahon in the fine points of the traditional social graces that might be expected from the first son of a hugely wealthy aristocrat. Rather, his appointment by Stanhope was made on political grounds.⁵

Stanhope was associated with many of the political and religious groups to which Richard Price and other dissenters belonged. He had a long association with the reform movement and occasionally attended the Hackney Gravel Pit meeting where Price was minister. Several sources claim that Richard Price recommended Joyce to the Earl.⁶ If Stanhope was looking for a tutor for his son he might have asked Price to recommend one of his students. However, evidence of Price's recommendation has not been found.

The lack of records raises the problem of how to understand Joyce's role with Stanhope. Joyce is referred to as 'tutor to Stanhope's children' by Robert Aspland in his memoir of Joyce, but as his 'secretary' by both the spy Gosling in his report to the government on 9 May 1794, and by Ghita Stanhope, the Earl's granddaughter.⁷ The variety of descriptions may reflect both the disposition of particular commentators and the variety of Joyce's social personas. It is therefore difficult to determine whether Joyce's employment was, at one extreme, as a high-status servant in which his social function and position were intended to be confined to the tutoring of Stanhope's children, or, at the other extreme, as a confidante, privy to Stanhope's political dealings, visible to society as an intellectual equal, and a representative of the Unitarian community active in radical politics.

⁵Aubrey Newman, *The Stanhopes of Chevening* (Macmillan, 1963), p. 190.

⁶Aspland Memoir: DNB; Imperial Dictionary.

⁷Spy Gosling's 'information' in Mary Thale, *Selections from the Papers of the London Corresponding Society 1792-1799* (Cambridge University Press, 1983), p.155; Ghita Stanhope *The Life of Charles Third Earl Stanhope* (Longmans, 1914), p. 147.

A partial answer is provided from the accountancy records of the firm of Mr George Wilson, Stanhope's Banker, which record that Joyce was employed from the 25 of January 1790 as 'Tutor to Lord Mahon' (who became the 4th Earl Stanhope), at £200 per year.⁸ The fact that Joyce was paid directly from the Bankers rather than through the household accounts from which household servants were paid, indicates Joyce's employment as a contracted agreement between gentlemen. The relatively large amount of £200 per year and (presumably), the benefit of free board and lodging as a member of Stanhope's household, represented a substantial increase from the approximately 3s a day and variable wages and conditions Joyce could expect as a journeyman glazier.⁹ However, as the following account argues, the title 'tutor' clearly fails to circumscribe Joyce's activities.

The support of Whigs who were concerned to limit the power of the crown and who supported the traditional concerns of 'Old Dissent' such as Stanhope, Lord Shelburne and Charles James Fox, was actively sought by many in the dissenting community. Such connections offered a useful source of political influence for dissenters alienated from effective power by the Test and Corporation Acts.¹⁰ Thus, Joyce's appointment maintained a link between the community of dissenters and a powerful political figure. There are some parallels between Joyce's appointment to Stanhope with that of Joseph Priestley's appointment to Lord Shelburne. Joyce and Priestley were Unitarians, were members of the same radical groupings, were both concerned with science and were both recommended by Richard Price to liberal Whig aristocrats. However, the parallels have

⁸Centre for Kentish Studies. Maidstone Record Office, Stanhope MSS, U.1590. A.103, *Account of Mr. Geo Wilson with Charles Earl Stanhope*. 1786-1793.

⁹Henry Philips Brown & Sheila W. Hopkins, *A perspective of Wages and Prices* (Methuen, 1981), p.11.

¹⁰J.Seed, Thesis, p. 140; M.Butler, *Burke, Paine, Godwin and the Revolution Controversy* (Cambridge University Press, 1984). p 4.

to be treated with caution as they were separated by 30 years and considerable individual differences.

A recommendation from Richard Price in the months immediately following the French Revolution, shortly after his famous speech to the Revolution Society, at a time when the effects and potential of the French Revolution dominated the intellectual, political and social climate, was not simply a fortuitous introduction to landed society for an up-and-coming young minister.¹¹ It was also a political act that linked Stanhope to the Unitarian community. The linking of a lower class dissenter trained at the notorious and radical Hackney College with a Whig member of the House of Lords, in a climate of growing fear of a French-style revolution happening in England, was a political connection that London society could not have missed. Joyce's appointment with Stanhope can be seen as a deliberate act that established a mutually profitable connection between the non-orthodox dissenting community and Stanhope the liberal peer. From Stanhope's perspective Joyce presented attractive credentials. He was highly educated, pious, a supporter of the revolution and from a lower class background. His career to that point, expressed social aspiration and flattered the vision of liberal reform. His appointment however, cannot simply be considered as expressing political motivations on the stage of London politics. Joyce was clearly a serious scholar who had the requisite academic qualifications for the position. He was advanced in mathematics, knew Latin, was trained as a minister and therefore possessed the right moral and spiritual qualifications. Furthermore, he had just received a broad liberal education. Stanhope was employing a teacher for the education of his son and heir, and as a man of considerable intellect himself, he would have been unlikely to employ someone who he felt did not have sufficient intellectual capacity and the requisite skills.

¹¹Price, *Discourse*.

Whilst Joyce had no independent income and therefore needed employment, it may not have been his only option. Despite the flattery and attractiveness of a high-profile position and the economic security it offered, Joyce was trained for the ministry and might reasonably have expected a junior position in a London meeting with the prospect of a future ministry. In so far as it signals some willingness to comply with the established order, even if he had a longer term egalitarian vision in mind, his acceptance of a position with an aristocrat and tutor to the inheritor of considerable wealth indicates liberal reform rather than violent revolution as his political position, and suggests some distance from the extremes of the democratic and revolutionary aspirations of Thomas Paine.

Joyce's role with Stanhope was ostensibly as tutor to his son, but the following evidence shows that his ten year employment with Stanhope had several dimensions. As the events of the early 1790s progressed he became prominent in the world of metropolitan radicalism. Politics, progressive education and science were the mutual interests of Stanhope and Joyce, and the relationship between them was not simply one of employer/employee, but also one of patron/patroness. This later relationship - possibly one of the last in which an aristocrat supported a writer as a member of their household - that becomes predominant after 1795 and is the concern of Chapter 4.

3.2 Political activities in London in the early 1790s

Apart from major estates in Ireland, Derbyshire and elsewhere, Earl Stanhope's main residence was at Chevening, Kent, the family home and where Joyce spent the greater part of ten years. In the early years of the 1790s however, Joyce spent a lot of time at Stanhope's London residence in Mansfield street. It was from Stanhope's London residence that Joyce operated as a political radical and it was there that he was eventually arrested in May 1794.

Between 1790 and 1792, Joyce joined three metropolitan based societies all of which pursued or reflected interests which were concerned with parliamentary reform. The London Revolution Society (LRS), The Unitarian Society and the Society for Constitutional Information (SCI), had different agendas and had members from different social backgrounds. Interestingly, he was not a member of the famous and working class London Corresponding Society (LCS) although he did become a secretary to the Joint committee between the LCS and the SCI in 1794. The SCI which was predominantly concerned with political education, had a slightly longer history than the LCS and reflected the political views of intellectuals in the liberal tradition of commonwealthmen, whereas the LCS was distinctly working class and, under the influence of the works of Thomas Paine, was more concerned to address social and economic injustice. From the circumstances of his birth, Joyce might have been drawn to the LCS, but his membership of the SCI and other societies which drew members from the middle and upper ranks of society, suggest he adopted the more paternalistic and elitist position of educational gradualism.

Joyce's membership of all three societies was unusual and involved considerable and potentially dangerous written communications and attendance at meetings. Given his employment by Earl Stanhope with tutorial duties to his son, his residence in Stanhope's houses, and their mutual enthusiasm for reform and the French Revolution, Stanhope must have sympathised with Joyce's activities. Indeed it is more likely that Joyce acted, to some degree, as Stanhope's political agent involving himself in societies and radical politics which Stanhope broadly supported but did not feel it appropriate to join.

3.2.1 Stanhope's French Connections

Stanhope was an active supporter of the French Revolution. He adopted the convention of calling himself 'citizen' and removed the crests from the gates of his mansion at Chevening. He was also a major conduit for the communications of the French National Assembly. From the

highly edited Stanhope manuscripts and records, Ghita Stanhope, with the assistance of the historian Peter Gooch, has shown the contacts he had with the French.¹² The records show correspondence between Stanhope and Condorcet, Rochefoucauld, Sir Francis d'Ivernois, G.A de Luc, Charles Bonnet and numerous other Frenchmen in the early 1790's and establish his support for the Revolution.¹³ Stanhope's London residence was a place where many Englishmen who had thrown their lot in with the Revolution visited and where French emissaries came and went. In the first years of the Revolution one powerful image of the new French constitution was that of a constitutional monarchy very similar to that of the English and which retained an aristocracy. Therefore as a member of the English nobility, Stanhope occupied a parallel social status to the Marquis de Condorcet and the Duc de la Rochefoucauld, both of whom were supporters of the Revolution. Furthermore, as a further attraction to French politicians, he was brother-in-law of the prime minister Pitt and married to the sister of Lord Grenville, and he had therefore, the ear of powerful politicians.

English views of the appropriateness of Stanhope's French connections varied. Following the storming of the Tuilleries and the fall of the monarchy, the Bishop of Llandaff implored Stanhope to approach his friends in France to try to save the Royal Family.¹⁴ But there was considerable suspicion about his French connections and Walpole associated Stanhope with the Unitarian ministry in his comment 'the horrors make one abhor Lord Stanhope and his priestley [sic] firebrands who would rain Presbyterian conflagrations here'.¹⁵ As the situation worsened in 1792, Stanhope was involved in many attempts to preserve peace and he carried informal messages to Pitt and others. He was involved in the last attempt to preserve peace made by the Duc de Bassano

¹²Ghita Stanhope, pp. 87-153.

¹³Stanhope MSS, *passim*.

¹⁴Ghita Stanhope, p. 118/9.

¹⁵Quoted in Ghita Stanhope, p. 96.

Maret and he read letters to Parliament from Condorcet as part of their joint effort to prevent war.¹⁶

Stanhope became the focus of anti-French sentiment. He was lampooned in cartoons with such titles as 'The Anarcharsis Cloots' and 'The Noble Sans-Culottes', and cast as a French republican wearing a too small bonnet-rouge and throwing off his breeches. (Figure 4) Stanhope is portrayed by H.Humphrey as being a dotty and distracted fool verging on madness - a theme easily connected in the cartoon narratives and subtexts, to the notion of danger. He was seen as being the enemy from within and attracted considerable anti-Jacobin vitriol. A Mr. Miles wrote an open letter to Stanhope which remonstrated with him for his support of the French Revolution and the impact that his support had on 'the misguided' who 'looked to him as their leader'.¹⁷ This public letter articulates the fears held by many in the 1790's and shows how Stanhope - and therefore his recognisable employees - formed the focus of those fears:

We have menartful and designing men, my lord, who bellow for *reform* but mean REVOLT, and would go to any lengths rather than relinquish their purpose. The object of the new clubs and associations which they introduce and endeavoured to establish in this country, was certainly meant to excite a ferment in the minds of the people: their object was to overcome Parliament and the Nation, and the tumult once begun, who can say where it would end, whose property would be secure, or whose life respected?¹⁸

Through his contact with Stanhope and his role in London radical societies Joyce would have been privy to many dangerous political communications with the French. He must have met many

¹⁶Ghita Stanhope, p. 123.

¹⁷*A letter from Mr. Miles*. (Cornhill, 1794), p. 2.

¹⁸*ibid.*, p. 12.



The NOBLE SANS-CULOTTE.

A BALLAD.

Figure 4. The Noble Sans-Culotte by Gillray 3 May 1794. In M.D. George, *Catalogue of Personal and Political Satire* (British Museum, 1942), Vol. 11. p.87.

French revolutionaries and, as a consequence, became known in London society as a pro-French political radical.

3.2.2 The Revolution Society

On the 14 September 1790 Joyce and his elder brother Joshua were proposed as members of the London Revolution Society (LRS) which was one of many English societies created to celebrate the centenary of the 1688 Glorious Revolution, many of whose members were in contact with French political societies.¹⁹ Made up largely of Protestant dissenters, the LRS also included members from the established church and the higher ranks of society, like Stanhope. They met on 4 November each year to celebrate William III's birthday and many Hackney College tutors were involved. The 1788 meeting of the society made the following bold declaration of their political principles.

1. That all civil and political authority is derived from the people.
2. That the abuse of power justifies resistance.
3. That the right of private judgement, liberty of conscience, trial by jury, the freedom of the press and the freedom of elections ought ever to be held sacred and inviolable.²⁰

These were the classic principles of liberal reform and Old Dissent which claimed the Glorious Revolution as the basis of a fair constitution - a constitution which had become abused by imbalances in the tripartite estates of Commons, aristocracy and monarchy. To holders of such views the French Revolution expressed the just development of exactly these principles. The meeting of the London Revolution Society on 4 November 1789, chaired by Stanhope had been the occasion when Richard Price had delivered his famous sermon *Discourse on the love of our country*, which portrayed the French Revolution as an emulation of the English Revolution and as

¹⁹Clive Emsley, *British society and the French wars 1793 - 1815* (Macmillan, 1979), p. 13.

²⁰Quoted in Albert Goodwin, *The Friends of Liberty: the English Democratic Movement in the Age of the French Revolution* (Hutchinson, 1979), p. 87.

a continuation of the goals of the American Revolution. At the meeting Price moved that an address be sent to the French National Assembly expressing the support of the society and concluded:

They [members of the society] cannot help adding their ardent wishes of a happy settlement of so important a revolution, and at the same time expressing the particular satisfaction with which they reflect on the tendency of the glorious example given in France to encourage other nations to assert the inalienable rights of mankind, and thereby to introduce a general reformation in the government in Europe, and to make the world free and happy.²¹

The address was signed by Stanhope and sent to the Duc de la Rochefoucauld requesting that it be presented to the National Assembly. There followed a series of communications from the Duke and others, many of which were addressed to Stanhope or to Price. As Joyce was employed by Stanhope and a member of the society he would have been aware of their contents which were also published in 1792.²² The prominence of the society was increased at this time due largely to the effect that Price's sermon had in provoking Burke's *Reflections* (1790), which vehemently condemned the revolution and its English sympathisers.²³ Joyce therefore joined a highly political and high profile society that provided the stage for one of the most strident intellectual and reformist challenges to established government and had clear links with the new French government.

²¹Quoted in Ghita Stanhope, p. 87.

²²*The correspondance of the Revolution Society with the National Assembly, and with various societies of the Friends of Liberty in France and England* (1792).

²³E. Burke. 'Reflections on the revolution in France and on the proceedings in Certain Societies in London relative to that event. In a letter intended to be sent to a gentleman in France' (1790) in *The Writings and Speeches of Edmund Burke*, ed. by L.G. Mitchell Vol. 5 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989), pp. 53-293.

Stanhope withdrew from the Revolution Society in the summer of 1790 on grounds that decisions were being made without proper consultation.²⁴ Interestingly, this was just when Joyce was elected a member - a fact which may imply that Stanhope wished to maintain contact with the society but remain some distance from it. However, if Stanhope did wish to preserve a distance from metropolitan radicalism he did not take great steps to distance himself from Joyce whose association with Stanhope is clearly recorded in his LRS membership entry which reads;

163. Jerem. Joyce. At Earl Stanhopes. Proposed by Christopher Harris and Sam.Travell.²⁵

3.3.3 The Unitarian Society

Joyce's name appears in the list of members of the Unitarian Society in 1791 which held its first meeting in the King's Head Tavern in the Poultry on the 9 February. The links with Hackney College and 'Old Phlogiston' (Priestley) registered the society as dangerously subversive on the political stage. At the meeting at which Priestley, Lindsey, Belsham, Disney, Kippis and all the heads of the Unitarian church were present, the society expressed its political purpose and resolved to request that Charles James Fox move the repeal of statutes 9 and 10 of William III C.32 entitled 'An act for the more effective suppression of blasphemy' which licensed discrimination against dissenters. Joyce recorded in his final address to the Unitarian Society the climate of repressive tension in which the society was formed:

They [the Unitarian Society] lay claim to the title as being the first society of the kind that ever existed in our much loved country; as daring to meet, for the purpose of propagating their opinions, at a time when every exertion subjected them to the severe and heavy lash

²⁴Ghita Stanhope, p. 97.

²⁵London, Guildhall, Guildhall MSS, MS22.829. Membership list of the London Revolution Society.

of barbarous laws; at a time when a mark of ignominy and reproach was attached to the name Unitarian..²⁶

The demand for the right of freedom of worship provided only a thin cloak to the aspirations of its members to secure parliamentary reform. Furthermore, the consequence that the recognition of the rights of dissenters would necessitate social and political change, was inescapable. However, the society was generally concerned to present only its religious purposes to the wider public and keep the political aspirations of its members off its public agenda. The first entry in the society's minute book is one of its few overtly political pronouncements. Further entries of the minute book show both that political talk was not recorded and, particularly over the period of the *Treason Trials* (1794), the entries are minimal and no political issues are recorded at all. The lack of record of the political and reformist aspirations of the members of the society who clearly had such aspirations, reflects both their nervousness about committing political sentiment and intentions to paper, and the distance many of the members wished to place between the society and the terrible events unfolding in France. Many members of the society were considerably older than Joyce and represented the more traditional forms of dissent. Their reformist aspirations were not revolutionary and their concern was for a preservation of the harmonious and tripartite balance of the three estates. As events in France became uglier, many of the values of Old Dissent were violated and many Unitarians became embarrassed at the connection between their reformist aspirations and the French Revolution. This sense of embarrassment may also explain the relative distance between some of the older members of the society and the younger and more radical Joyce, who was both associated through Stanhope with the French National Assembly and heavily involved in metropolitan radical politics.

²⁶J. Joyce. *The Subserviency of free enquiry and Religious Knowledge, among the lower classes of Society to the Prosperity and Permanence of a state* (For the author, 1816), p. 29.

Unitarian disquiet was also fuelled by the relative social danger they faced which was in part due to the accusations of Edmund Burke who characterised Joyce's friend Richard Price, as 'a man much connected with literary caballers, and intriguing philosophers; with political theologians, both at home and abroad' and aimed his vitriol at Unitarians, the London societies and Hackney College.²⁷ Such disquiet was also fuelled by the common practice of the opening of Unitarians' mail by the Post office, and the system of government spies set in place by the Home Office. There were, therefore, motives of personal security that urged Unitarians to make sure of a distance between themselves and pronounced and visible radicals. Joyce himself must have been forced to be on his guard despite the relative tolerance of the metropolis.

Not only were some of Joyce's most long standing friendships and connections forged through his contact with the Unitarian Society, but it was through his experiences with the Society that he was first introduced to the practical problems and possibilities of producing particular forms of literature for particular purposes and audiences. The location of the meeting in the Poultry district of London has some significance as it was a major centre for printing and publishing. The society was denominated 'The Unitarian Society for promoting Christian knowledge and the practice of virtue by the distribution of books', and many of the meetings of the society were held in the shop of the famous radical publisher and Unitarian Joseph Johnson.²⁸ At the monthly committee meeting of 9 June 1791, with Thomas Belsham in the chair Joyce stated his desire to serve on the monthly committee. At the 14 July meeting Joyce is recorded as a member of the committee which decided to print and place on the Society's catalogue, 2000 copies of the *Family Instructor* revised and corrected by Dr Kippis.²⁹ Joseph Johnson was to arrange the printing and undertake the sale and delivery of the books to members of the society. Joyce would later become a leading member and

²⁷Burke, in E.J.Payne, Vol. 2, p. 12.

²⁸London, Essex Hall MSS, item 4A, The Unitarian Society minute book started 1791.

²⁹Andrew Kippis *Family Instructor* (Unitarian Society, 1791).[Original by Daniel Defoe]

secretary of the society, however, after the 14 July entry, Joyce does not reappear in the society minutes until 1802.

3.2.4 The Society for Constitutional Information

In 1792 Joyce joined the rejuvenated Society for Constitutional Information (SCI) founded by Horne Tooke and satired in the cartoon by James Sayers. (Figure 5). The SCI attracted wealthy and intellectual radicals and was more genteel than the London Corresponding Society (LCS).³⁰ The SCI brought Joyce into contact with many interesting members of London's liberal society, such as the dramatist and writer Thomas Holcroft, and William Sharp the engraver were from artisan backgrounds, but the membership also included members from the middle and higher ranks, John Bonney the attorney, Romney the painter, John Richter son of the artist Richter, and the famous Whig reformers John Horne Tooke and Major Cartwright.

The society was allied with the LCS, with whom its members shared the purpose of political education - often jointly sponsoring republican leaflets. However the SCIs' markedly educational agenda spoke more of the moderate politics and traditions of Old Dissent, than of the more direct political action implied by the potentially revolutionary voices of the LCS.

Joyce was a committed member of the Society and he felt a duty to 'diffuse constitutional knowledge among my fellow citizens'.³¹ He described the role of the SCI as a guardian of the constitution in which the interests of all Englishmen had a stake.

In the venerable Constitution handed down to us through a long succession of ages, this must be the basis and vital principle, LAWS TO BIND ALL, MUST BE ASSENTED TO

³⁰S.J.Watson, *The reign of George III. 1760-1815* (Oxford University Press, 1960), p. 141. Emsley, p. 14.

³¹J.Joyce, *A Sermon preached on Sunday, February the 23rd, 1794: to which is added an appendix containing an account of the author's arrest for treasonable practices* (Printed for the author, Nov. 1794), p. 43. Hereafter *Sermon and Account*.



Figure 5. Society for Constitutional Information. BMC. 12 May 1791. James Sayers. Reproduced in Dickinson, *Caricatures*, p. 130.

BY ALL. As every Englishman has an equal inheritance in those laws and that constitution which has been provided for their defence, it is, therefore necessary that every Englishman should know *what that Constitution is; when it is safe; and when it is endangered*. To diffuse this knowledge universally through the realm, to circulate it through every village and hamlet, and even to introduce it into the humble dwelling of the cottager, is the wish and hope of this Society.³²

From the spring of 1792, the SCI emerged as the effective leader of the whole democratic movement and took over from the LRS, the role as the chief communication channel between English radicals and their French Counterparts.³³ Through his membership of the SCI and his employment with Stanhope, Joyce provided a major link between metropolitan radicalism, the French national government and pro-reform Liberals. He was also at the centre of a distribution network of radical literature. The surviving records of the SCI show that he received 100 copies of Thomas Paine's *Letter to Mr Secretary Dundas* (1792), and that his brother Joshua took 400 copies for distribution to Unitarians in Yarmouth, Ipswich, Shrewsbury and Canterbury in June 1792.³⁴ Living almost next door to the Essex Street Chapel, Joshua Joyce could readily supply the many Unitarians who visited. Joyce himself was afternoon preacher from 1793 and the brothers provided a major link between the SCI and the Unitarian community.

Joyce was heavily involved in the distribution of radical literature. On his arrest in May 1794, the authorities made an inventory of his papers which reveal that he had an extensive collection of radical literature.³⁵ He had multiple copies of the addresses of the LCS and SCI, trials of radicals, published letters of Priestley and Price and the campaigning literature against the slave trade. He

³²*ibid.*, p. 44.

³³Goodwin, p. 215/6.

³⁴Thomas Paine, *Letter to Mr Secretary Dundas* (1792), PRO, Treasurer Solicitors Papers, 11/962.

³⁵PRO, T.S., 11/964.

had 6 copies of the pamphlets *Two Pennyworth more of truth for a penny, or a true state of facts* (1793), and 20 copies of the pamphlet *Fast Day observed in Sheffield, to which is added a Hymn of Revolution* (1794), and many more.³⁶ As a regular attender at the monthly meetings of the SCI he was involved in the distribution of many political pamphlets and, notably, the first and second parts of Thomas Paine's *The Rights of Man*. From 1792 to 1794 the SCI contributed to the distribution of 200,000 copies of part two which the SCI sold at 6d and which served to put affordable anti-government literature in the hands of a much wider audience.³⁷

To Unitarians education was a crucial and meritorious endeavour that not only led society towards perfection, but was the source of liberty and virtuous action. The producers and distributors of educational publications of the 1790s had to negotiate the moral and legal censorship's of powerful voices in society for whom political education was easily interpreted as seditious libel and who were quite likely to invoke the forces of law to resist what could be seen as threats to the social order. From 1695, when the Act of Parliament which imposed a censorship of the press expired, anyone was, in theory, able to publish what they wished. In practice, if published material was deemed blasphemous, seditious, obscene or defamatory, the publisher could be answerable to a court of law.³⁸ Joyce, as an active member of subversive societies concerned to publish educational material, was therefore concerned with the publication of potentially seditious material.

Stanhope was active in the House of Lords and moved the 2nd reading of the bill first put forward by Fox in 1792, which came to be known as the Libel Act and which gave the jury rather than the bench, the power of deciding the intention and nature of published matter in cases of

³⁶*Two Pennyworth more of truth for a penny, or a true state of facts* (1793); *Fast Day observed in Sheffield, to which is added a Hymn of Revolution* (Sheffield: 1794).

³⁷Thomas Paine *The Rights of Man* (Dent, 1944, 1st ed. 1792); J. Ehrman, *The Younger Pitt: The Reluctant Transition* (Constable, 1983), p. 114/5.

³⁸A. Aspinall. *Politics and the Press 1780 - 1850*. (London: Home & Van Thal, 1973), p.34.

sedition libel, and therefore made the jury the arbiter of the matter as well of the fact.³⁹

Previously, the official doctrine was that the only matter of fact to be decided by the jury was whether or not the publication meant what the prosecution said it meant.⁴⁰ The establishment, in its broadest sense, had therefore been protected from printed criticism by a section of its own membership - the judiciary. Such protection was seen by many Whigs and reformers as an unwarranted limit to the constitutional right of free speech and the legitimate right to petition parliament. Such a limit was resisted in numerous cases throughout the eighteenth century on the basis of one of the following arguments. Firstly, if the intention of a publication was debarred from the concern of the jury, the jury was restricted in its consideration of the whole matter at issue and therefore would not be fulfilling its proper function. Secondly, it could be pointed out that such a judicial stricture produced the anomaly that intentions could not be considered as facts in cases of seditious libel whilst they could be considered a matter of fact in other criminal cases.⁴¹ The link between the legal power of the Jury to decide matters of fact and the freedom to publish material hostile to the government was a crucial one which Joyce would become intimately involved. The extension of the power of the jury at the expense of the judiciary, became one of the critical points at issue in the *Treason Trials* (discussed below) as it came to symbolise the rights of Englishmen within the proper workings of a just constitution.

Stanhope was publicly concerned to support Fox and wrote *The rights of Juries Defended; Together with authority of Law in support of the rights and objections to Mr Fox's Libel Bill refuted* (1792), and Joyce was active in the publication of texts some of which were directly

³⁹D.L.Keir. *The constitutional History of Modern Britain since 1485* (Adam & Charles Black, 1968), p. 399; E.P.Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (Harmondsworth: Pelican, 1972), p.135.

⁴⁰J.Barrell, *The Birth of Pandora and the Division of Knowledge* (Macmillan, 1992), p. 127.

⁴¹ *ibid.*

hostile to the government.⁴² One can view the actions of the two as a combined project - the one - Stanhope - active in ensuring that the people have authority over what is libel, and the other - Joyce - engaging in the production of potentially libellous material. With Pitt's decision to clamp down on opposition groups in 1792, Joyce's position became more and more dangerous.

3.4 Joyce becomes notorious

Political radicalism in the 1790s took place in the face of rising surveillance and repression from Pitt's government, of rising public hostility to radicals as witnessed in the Church and King mobs which burnt effigies of Joseph Priestley and Thomas Paine together, and a general hostility to any action that could be construed as pro-French. Such increased tension provoked a large variety of responses. Mark Philp has written powerfully about how the events of the 1790s transformed or traumatised people and made them develop personal and individual, rather than uniform, responses in accordance with a creed.⁴³ Furthermore, as John Ehrman notes, as a new form of politics appeared in which political arguments voiced by members of artisan classes were registered against the government, a reformulation of the position of political activists on both sides of the political divide took place in which the various actors became unsure of their roles.⁴⁴ Such individual and mixed responses to the French Revolution prompted many of those who had previously voiced demands for reform, to either change their views or remain silent. Those, including Joyce, who retained their public opposition to the government, risked the accusation of seditious libel.

The establishment of a 'British Convention' in 1793, which smacked of a French-style National Assembly and which resulted in the transportation of the 'Scottish Martyrs', and the increasing prominence of large gatherings of the LCS in the same year, brought Pitt and his government to act

⁴²Charles Stanhope, *The rights of Juries Defended; Together with authority of Law in support of the rights and objections to Mr Fox's Libel Bill refuted* (1792),

⁴³Mark Philp, *The French Revolution and British Popular Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 54.

⁴⁴Ehrman, *Reluctant Transition* p. 400.

decisively against a perceived threat. In the build up to the May 1794 suspension of Habeas Corpus and arrests in which Joyce was one of twelve London radicals seized, interrogated by the Privy Counsel and then imprisoned in the Tower to be eventually charged with treason. He was an important link between the Unitarian community, the radical underworld and one of the most prominent opposition voices to the government - the Earl of Stanhope.

Joyce was the afternoon preacher at the Essex Street Chapel from 1793 until 1804.⁴⁵ He met many of the members of the liberal community including the MPs William Smith, Thomas Brand Hollis and James Martin. On the 23 February 1794 Joyce delivered a sermon at the Essex Street Chapel only three weeks after Stanhope put a motion to the House of Lords to acknowledge the French Republic.⁴⁶ This Sermon was Joyce's first published work although it was not published until November that year when Joyce was awaiting trial in Newgate.

The Sermon has three interrelated arguments. Firstly, that God has foreknowledge and that he imparted such knowledge to the prophets as commissions in the pursuit of his purposes. Secondly, that Christ was such a prophet and his proclamations at the last supper that the 12 apostles would desert him in his hour of need was an example of such prophetic commission. Thirdly, that the lessons of Christ on the cross trusting to God alone, secure in the knowledge of his kingdom and defiant in the face of danger and threats, is a lesson relevant to the current (1794) social situation.

Joyce opens with the claim that the harmony in the world must have been created on the basis of perfect fore-knowledge and he uses the analogy of the mechanic creating his machine in anticipation of its effects. Throughout Joyce appeals to the structure of the natural world and attempts to draw analogies with the social and political realm. His language is infused with the scientific epistemology of Priestley and the parlance of Newtonian mechanics which he uses to

⁴⁵W.Wilson. *The History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches and Meeting Houses in London, Westminster and Southwark*, vol. 3 (For the Author, 1810), p. 490.

⁴⁶Joyce, *Sermon and Account*, 1794.

provide rational proof of the existence of God. Joyce goes on to argue that the prophets of the Old Testament and Jesus, the major prophet of the New Testament, had had selected bits of 'foreknowledge' imparted to them and Christ's Last Supper pronouncement that the twelve would desert him, is posited as an example of such foreknowledge. He argued that as a man, Jesus can only develop knowledge from experience, observation and reasoning and as Christ's foreknowledge was not of this kind, it had to be of a type given directly by God, and that evidence of this was shown by the fact that all, rather than some, of the apostles deserted him.

On the basis of this account and the belief that Christ's love of God was perfect, thus enabling him to suffer the pain of crucifixion, Joyce moves on to suggest that Christ's example is one we need to follow and that it is acutely relevant to the current [1794] times. Joyce used Christ's actions as a model for Christian action in the face of what he saw as Pitts oppression at home and his unjust war with the French. Joyce urged his listeners, who will be facing 'times of uncommon importance', to be prepared to make sacrifices and act with patience and dignity.⁴⁷

On the stage of a central London pulpit, Joyce delivered a sermon that referred to contemporary political events in a way that arranged the forces of good (reformist) against the forces of repression (Pitt's government). These forthright views, expressed within two miles of the seat of parliament, were only thinly veiled by the license given to a religious sermon. The sermon carries the strong sense that Joyce felt that a major test of dissenting beliefs was imminent and he gives the impression that he might have to play a testing role in the unfolding of divine providence.

Through the spring of 1794 Joyce was involved in radical political activities which attempted to co-ordinate the actions of a range of reform societies. On 4 April Joyce represented the SCI at the first joint conference with the LCS, at which a motion was carried to pass all communications from reform societies of the country to the LCS, and that at the next meeting the delegates should

⁴⁷ibid, p. 22.

communicate all the information they have about the various reform societies.⁴⁸ Joyce went to the house of the radical lecturer and member of the LCS John Thelwall, two or three days after this meeting in order to meet Thomas Holcroft and other delegates from the LCS.⁴⁹ Thomas Hardy, the leader of the LCS, thought Joyce was 'a man of great worth, and highly esteemed by all who knew him'.⁵⁰ Hardy co-operated with Joyce in producing the letter of 7 April which was written by Joyce but signed by Hardy and which solicited the concurrence and assistance of the Whig group of the Society of the Friends of the People in 'a convention of the friends of freedom for the purpose of obtaining in a legal and constitutional method, a full and effectual representation'.⁵¹ On 2 May Joyce was a steward at an SCI anniversary dinner when the band played 'CA IRA' and 'The Marseillaise' at the Crown and Anchor Tavern - the venue in which many meetings of the reform societies took place.⁵²

Joyce was therefore a central player in attempts to co-ordinate radical activity. Furthermore, Joyce can be seen as a vital link between metropolitan radicals and a highly supportive Whig aristocrat. His position presented a visible target for a government anxious to repress any threat of revolution. Joyce must have been aware of the danger. His friend, William Shepherd, wrote to him in 1794 saying 'I dare say Reeves has you on his books....beware of false brethren'.⁵³ Shepherd was referring to the John Reeves Associations which combated the SCI and directed some of the Church and King mobs.⁵⁴

⁴⁸Mary Thale, *Selections from the papers of the London Corresponding Society 1792-1799* (Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 128.

⁴⁹London, Public Record Office, Privy Council Record, Treason: Draft Minutes, 11.A.36B, 1794.

⁵⁰*Memoir of Thomas Hardy written by himself* David Vincent (ed.) *Testaments of Radicalism* (Europa, 1977), p.68.

⁵¹Thale, *Selections*, p. 130n.

⁵²T.B.Howell. *A collection of State Trials* (T.C. Hansard for Longmans, 1818), xxv (1794), p. 571.

⁵³PRO, T.S.,11/964. Extracts from Joyce's papers.

⁵⁴Goodwin, p. 265.

3.5 The Arrest

Early in the morning of the 12 May 1794 the secretaries of the LCS and SCI (Thomas Hardy and Daniel Adams) were arrested by order of the King. On the same day Secretary Dundas presented a message from the King to the Commons which said that the King had received information that certain societies were planning to hold a convention, that they were involved in seditious practices and that he had ordered the arrest of the leaders.⁵⁵ The next day a committee which included William Pitt and Edmund Burke was appointed by the Government to examine the papers of the societies. On the 16 of May the committee reported to the government which was ordered to be printed as a pamphlet the following day. In the Stanhope papers there is a copy of this pamphlet - *The first report from the committee of secrecy* - annotated in Joyce's hand. Next to the following section Joyce made the comment 'They got this from the books'.⁵⁶

When in addition to these considerations, the committee reflect on the leading circumstances, which they have already stated, of the declared approbation, at an early period, of the doctrine of the Rights of Man, as stated in Paine's publication; of the connection and intercourse with the French Societies; and with the National Convention, and, of the subsequent approbation of the French System; and consider that these are those principles which the promotion of a convention evidently make the foundation of their proceedings. They are satisfied that the design now openly professed and acted upon, aims at nothing less than stated in his Majesty's message, and must be considered as a traitorous conspiracy for the subversion of the established Laws and constitution, and the

⁵⁵Alan Wharam, *The Treason Trials, 1794* (Leicester University Press, 1992), p. 98.

⁵⁶*The first report from the committee of secrecy* (1794) - annotated Stanhope MSS, U1590, Doc Z94. Unannotated copy can be found in *Committee of Secrecy of the House of Commons respecting Seditious Practices. First Report* (16 May 1794), *Parl. Hist.*, vol. 31, cols 475-97.

introduction of that system of anarchy and confusion which has fatally prevailed in France.⁵⁷

Following the arrest of the secretaries of the LCS and the SCI, Joyce expected that he would be arrested.⁵⁸ From the Government's point of view there was evidence of co-ordination among reform groups and plans for a second British convention and they acted swiftly to stifle the movement and round up the leaders. Joyce was arrested on the pretext of an intercepted message which he had written to Horne Tooke on 12 May asking 'is it possible to be ready by Thursday next'.⁵⁹ The date, according to Joyce, was really a deadline for publication of a list of government sinecures that Tooke was to procure from the Court Calendar with the intention of exposing the corrupt practices of the government.⁶⁰ He was therefore not entirely innocent of the charge of sedition. However, the authorities that intercepted the letter interpreted it as a date for some form of insurrection.

Joyce was arrested at Stanhope's house in Mansfield Street on the 14th and the following appeared in the *Times* the next day.

Yesterday morning at eight o'clock, Mr Ross Jun. One of his Majesty's Messengers in ordinance with proper assistants, went to the house of Earl Stanhope in Mansfield Street, Cavendish Square and took into custody, in virtue of a warrant granted to him by the two secretaries of state, the person and papers of the Rev. Jeremiah Joyce (private secretary to Earl Stanhope and tutor to the present Lord Mahon) for treasonable and seditious practices against his Majesty's government.⁶¹

Joyce's reputation as a notorious radical was sealed by the report which gave an account of his revolutionary plottings.

⁵⁷ibid.

⁵⁸Joyce, *Sermon and Account*, 2nd ed. Jan. 1795, p. 3.

⁵⁹ibid., p.5.

⁶⁰Aspland, *Memoir*, p.701.

⁶¹*Times*, May 15th, 1794.

The Rev. Mr Joyce was lately appointed Secretary to a meeting that was to be held in London in the month of June (intended to be called the British Convention) which was to consist of a Delegate deputed from all the different Jacobin clubs in the various parts of England, such as Sheffield, Norwich, Manchester, Birmingham &c. &c. This convention was to meet immediately on the prorogation of Parliament, when they thought to have found the Executive Government without the strong arm of Parliament - Luckily the plot was discovered before the completion of the plan.⁶²

The warrant for Joyce's arrest for treasonable practices authorised the seizure of all books and papers related to the LCS and the SCI. Joyce records that a number of other books, not covered by the terms of the warrant, were taken and that when he arrived at Mr Ross's house he refused, when asked, to acknowledge ownership of all the books and papers that had been brought from his accommodation, on the grounds that they had been in the possession of a servant for some time. His concern was that they may have been tampered with and he could, by acknowledging ownership, find that he had given strength to charges against him.

Home Tooke had been arrested by a detachment of soldiers with a troop of Light Horse placed nearby - a fact which provides some measure of the level of government apprehension of a possible armed insurrection.⁶³ Yet Joyce's arrest was conducted by only two men - an under secretary of state - Mr. King, and a King's messenger, Mr. Ross, indicating that the authorities felt they should send a small but high-level deputation for Joyce and that they assumed that he would 'come quietly'. The authorities may have felt they had to treat Joyce - the employee of the brother-in-law to the Prime Minister - within the conventions of arrest afforded to members of the higher levels of society.

⁶²ibid.

⁶³Wharam, p. 92.

The Privy Council interrogated all those arrested in the council chambers of Whitehall. This was a powerful gathering of the most influential men in the country - William Pitt, Henry Dundas, Lord Hawkesbury, the Duke of Montrose, the Earl of Chatham, Lord Auckland, the Marquis of Stafford and the Lord Chancellor and the Attorney General and Solicitor General. Such an interview was a significant and no doubt frightening experience for Joyce who must have realised that the intention of those present was to indict him for treason, to remove his freedom and place him on trial.

Joyce's record of the interrogation as published in the *Account* (published in November 1794 and discussed in section 3.7 below) is not inconsistent with the official record.⁶⁴ However, not surprisingly, Joyce's account casts himself as the hero and the council as the villains. Joyce's account is longer and records much more detail including the threats by Council members. For instance, after Joyce had refused to answer questions on grounds that it would harm the constitution, he records Dundas making the thinly veiled threat: 'You had better leave the constitution to itself, and consider whether it will be in your interests to answer the questions which are put to you'.⁶⁵ This does not appear in the official version. Where Joyce records a lengthy series of questions and answers relating to his status as accused and his request for counsel in which Dundas, Pitt and Lord Loughborough made dark mutterings, the official version merely reports that 'Mr Joyce was told that he was certainly not bound to answer questions that might tend to accuse him'. Facing possible execution or transportation, Joyce would have been very sensitive to the implications of the questions put to him. His fuller record reflects his concern both to present his own performance as honourable and to expose the threatening implications of what was said.

⁶⁴PRO, TS 11/963/3509.

⁶⁵Joyce, *Sermon and Account*, p. 37.

Both accounts reveal Joyce's strategy in dealing with his interrogators which was consistent with the responses of the other accused and was probably rehearsed.⁶⁶ He simply asked for counsel and when it was denied, he refused to answer questions on the legal grounds that as an accused person he was not required to answer questions without counsel. When presented with a transcript of the SCI meeting of 11 of April when he was in the chair and named as accepting the office of secretary to the joint committees of the LCS and the SCI (Figure 6), and when presented with a copy of his letter to Tooke, Joyce simply refused to answer.

Joyce was kept at Ross's house for five days until 19 May. He had been allowed to see his sister but was refused the use of pen and paper. He was informed that he could not see any member of the Stanhope household and that he was not to communicate with any other person. In the afternoon he was taken to the Tower under a warrant signed by most of the members of the Privy Council which instructed the Governor of the Tower: -

..in his Majesty's name, to authorise and require you to receive into your custody the body of the Reverend Jeremiah Joyce, herewith sent you for High Treason: and you are to keep him safe and close until he shall be delivered by due course of Law.⁶⁷

In the seven days from 12 to 19 May, the arrests focused the attention of the general public.

Rumours of insurrection and connections with French societies stampeded public opinion against the radicals as broadsheet vendors sold sheets headed TREASON! TREASON! TREASON!.⁶⁸

Tension was increased by debates over the introduction of a suspension of Habeas Corpus and the accidental discovery of a cache of pikeheads and battle-axes in Edinburgh reported to Pitt which was used by the government as evidence of insurrection.⁶⁹

⁶⁶Wharam, p. 94/5 & 101

⁶⁷Joyce, *Sermon and Account*, p.10.

⁶⁸Thompson, p.145.

⁶⁹Goodwin, p. 335/6.

Meeting 11 April 1794

47

Present

Mr Joyce in the Chair

- 1 Among other Resolutions Resolved 3. That the Committee of Correspondence already appointed by this Society, be the Committee for Co-operation and communication with the Committees of other Societies.
- 2 Enticed. That the Secretary be desired to send a letter to the London Corresponding Society, acquainting them with the Members of this Society appointed to confer with them.
- 3 Resolved. That Mr Joyce be requested to accept of the Office of Secretary to the Committee of Correspondence.
- 4 Mr Joyce being present accepted of the said Office.
- 5 Resolved. That Mr Joyce - Mr J. Williams and Mr J. Pearson be requested to accept of the Office of Stewards to the ensuing Anniversary of this Society.
- 6 They being present accepted of the said Office.
- 7 A. I decline answering that Question.
- 8 Have you written any Letter to Mr. Horne Tooke since Sunday last?
- 9 A. I decline answering.
- 10 A. A Letter directed to J. H. Tooke Esq. asked if it was his kind Writing?
- 11 He declined answering.

The Letter was as follows

Figure 6. Official transcript of the Meeting of the Society for Constitutional Information. 11 April

1794. Joyce in the Chair. PRO, TS 11/963/3509.

To the public, the Government and the judiciary, Joyce could be vilified by his associations. As a Unitarian he was associated with the reformers Price, Priestley and Lindsey. As an employee of the Earl of Stanhope he was implicated with the French. As an active political radical who not only circulated seditious material, but had been heavily involved in the co-ordination of radical groups, he was a dangerous plotter. Newly arrived in the Tower, Joyce must have viewed the future with trepidation.

3.6 The Tower and Newgate

In the House of Lords 22 May, Stanhope opposed the measure to introduce the suspension of Habeas Corpus. He claimed that the move was designed to set up a Bastille and he strongly denounced the use of 'lettres de cachet' with which to arrest and imprison, without proof or reason and at the will of ministers.⁷⁰ His sentiments were no doubt inflamed by just such action having been taken against one of his employees

In his account of his arrest and confinement Joyce gave a detailed description of his experiences. On his arrival at the Tower he was initially confined in the Yeoman Porter's house. Like the others arrested on the same charges, he was kept as a 'close' prisoner which meant that a warder would stay with him in his cell, and a soldier guard his door. The warrant stated that the prisoners were not allowed to communicate with anyone, and were not permitted access to pen and paper without express order. After 8 days Joyce was placed in one of the Tower cells overlooking the Tower wharf which offered him a good view but also subjected him to the insults of passengers some of whom would taunt him with the epithets 'Jacobin', 'Democrat' and 'King Killer'. Bail was refused but by application to the Privy Council he was given pen and paper and, under supervision, he was allowed two two-hourly visits per week from his relations and was allowed to walk on the tower parapets, but not allowed to speak to any other prisoner. An indication of the level of anxiety

⁷⁰Ghita Stanhope, p. 133.

felt by the authorities over the connections and persuasive power of the prisoners, is given in the Orders for the Warders of 4 August 1794 by Colonel Yorke the deputy Governor of the Tower (reproduced in Joyce's *Appendix*), which both required strict supervision of the prisoners but also instructed the warders that when they were outside the Tower 'they were not to go into any house either inhabited or empty, nor any of the armories, and that they return to their lodgings at retreat beating'.⁷¹ Presumably the concern was that they might meet co-conspirators of the prisoners and therefore be persuaded to aid them.

The prisoners became a public spectacle and when they were allowed to take exercise on the Tower ramparts, crowds gathered to observe. William Shepherd, Joyce's life long friend, records that he stood amongst the crowds watching the prisoners exercise, and tried to attract Joyce's attention.⁷² As the period of imprisonment continued, Joyce felt that the abuse he was subjected to, subsided and he became - in the eyes of the passers by - an object of pity.⁷³

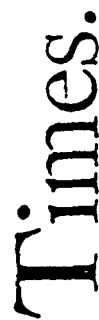
The prisoners were kept in the public's eye by numerous references in newspapers. On 6 September *The Times* published 'a sketch of what would, in our opinion, be the daily matter of a Newspaper, conducted under a government, guided by maxims borrowed from the Revolutionary System of the French'.⁷⁴ This spoof constituted page 3 of the edition under the title 'The New Times' falsely dated Saturday 10 June 1800. (Figure 7). Some of the twelve accused and other leading reformers were parodied and caricatured. The lecturer and a leader of the London Corresponding Society, John Thelwell, was addressed as Telwell; Grosvenor Square was renamed Horne Tooke Square; everyone was addressed as citizen and humorous stories appeared.

⁷¹Joyce, *Sermon and Account*, p. 12.

⁷²H.Ridyard. *A selection from the letters of the Reverend W.Shepherd*, (Liverpool: Private Publication, 1855), p. 55.

⁷³Joyce, *Sermon and Account*, 2nd ed., p. 11.

⁷⁴*Times*, 6th Sept. 1794, p. 2.



**Price (One Shilling is Seven
or, Five Shillings is Forty).**

For instance under the heading 'Shipping Intelligence', there is a report that a French brig laden with guillotines had arrived. In the third column under the sub-title 'London', Joyce is caricatured as 'The Rev Citizen Joys'.

This day, June 10th, at twelve o'clock the Rev. Citizen Joys, Minister of the National Church, will celebrate in the *Temple of Reason* (*ci-devant* ST PAUL'S CHURCH) a festival for the happy destruction of parliament.⁷⁵

The associations with the new French government were clear - the national church, the Temple of Reason and the title 'citizen' - were all linked to the purpose of destroying parliament and served to present Joyce as a dangerous plotter.

On 24 October the prisoners were taken to Newgate and placed in inferior and separate rooms about which many of them complained.⁷⁶ They were taken to the Sheriff's house in the Old Bailey the following day and arraigned on the charge of high treason. All the prisoners were individually asked the same questions and all replied with the routine formula for claiming trial by jury:

'Guilty or not guilty?'

'Not guilty.'

'How will you be tried?'

'By God and my country.'⁷⁷

On the request of the accused, the court decided that they were to be tried separately and they were all taken back to Newgate to await trial. Joyce remained in Newgate until 1 December when he was brought to the bar with three of the other accused - Bonney, Holcroft and Kyd. The Attorney General announced that he did not propose to proceed further against them and they were released. In the period between 25 of October and the day of the release, the trials of Thomas Hardy and

⁷⁵ibid., full page inset.

⁷⁶Wharam, p. 142-146.

⁷⁷ibid., p. 145.

Horne Tooke took place and received constant reporting in the press. The acquittals of first Hardy then Tooke, secured Joyce's release through removing the grounds of the charges against him. The famous lawyer Erskine had mounted a successful campaign. He exposed the evidence of the prosecution as fraudulent, inconsistent and the product of government spies. Erskine was helped by Joyce's brother Joshua who aided the examination of the circumstances of each of the 421 witnesses - 'sent to perplex and confuse the prisoners' on behalf of 'the minister'.⁷⁸ Erskine also successfully convinced the jury that reformers were not crypto-republicans and that they had no other aims than universal suffrage and annual parliaments.⁷⁹

Joyce's engraved Portrait was published on 11 November - a date between the close of Hardy's trial (5th) and the commencement of Tooke's (13th) and served to increase his public profile. (Figure 1). The trials had become important tests of the constitution and of the rights of individuals both to campaign for reform and to proper trial by jury - a right seen by reformers as having been abused in the recent Treason Trials in Scotland. Furthermore, the accused were the focus of public attention and had become known as the 'twelve apostles'.⁸⁰ The trials were a very public drama and the tropes of Christian martyrdom were incorporated into the language of the media and the stagecraft of the major players.⁸¹ Whilst Joyce was not centre stage, his name appeared in newspapers and his image was circulating. His Unitarian credentials combined with his association with Stanhope served to fuel and colour the imagery served up to the public.

⁷⁸J. Joyce, Obituary notice of Joshua Joyce, *Monthly Repository*, xi (1816), p. 244.

⁷⁹Goodwin, p. 349.

⁸⁰ *The Autobiography of Francis Place*, ed. by Mary Thale (Cambridge University Press, 1972), p. 129n.

⁸¹M. Wood, *Radical Satire and Print Culture: 1790 -1822* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), p. 132.

3.7 The publication of the *Account of the Author's Arrest for Treasonable Practices*

The complex publishing history of Joyce's *Sermon* and his *Account* (Figure 8) and their combination in one publication reveals the fragile support of the Unitarian church for Joyce's actions. While in the Tower Joyce nearly completed 'An appeal to his countrymen respecting his political opinions and conduct'. However, following the prisoners' indictment for treason and with the impending prospect of a trial, Joyce abandoned his intention to publish and placed his trust in what he hoped would be an 'impartial trial'.⁸² He did, however, publish, as a pamphlet in November, whilst in Newgate, *An Account of the Author's Arrest for Treasonable Practice*. The print run of 1000 of the first edition sold out in a few days and a second edition was issued shortly afterwards.⁸³ The first edition of the *Account* published as an independent pamphlet was signed by Joyce 'State Side. Newgate November 23rd' - a date which also appears in the first edition of the *Account* published as an appendix to the *Sermon*. A letter from Joyce's friend Lindsey, to the Dundee Unitarian Minister Robert Millar dated 9 December 1794, confirms that the *Sermon* plus *Appendix* were printed together as one publication whilst Joyce was in Newgate, but does not provide a date of sale.

There has just come out a Sermon by Mr Joyce, one of the late state prisoners, printed while he was in Newgate with an Appendix.....we know him well and esteem him, and so would you from this specimen of himself. We have taken 1/4 of a hundred to circulate. It is calculated to do much good at the same time as it gratifies the curiosity of the reader respecting the Writer.⁸⁴

⁸²Joyce, *Sermon and Account*, p.1.

⁸³Aspland, *Memoir*, p.704; Annotated copy of Joyce, *Sermon and Account*, 2nd ed., MCO Shepherd Papers, Vol. 8, No. 11, probably by Hannah Ridyard who was Joyce's daughter - saying 'the first edition sold 1000 v.quick'.

⁸⁴DWL, MSS 12.46 (6). Lindsey to Millar. London, 9th Dec. 1794.

A
S E R M O N

PREACHED ON
SUNDAY, FEBRUARY the 23d, 1794.

BY
Jeremiah Joyce,
Twenty-three Weeks a close Prisoner in the Tower of London.

TO WHICH IS ADDED
AN APPENDIX,
CONTAINING AN
ACCOUNT OF THE AUTHOR'S ARREST
FOR
4 TREASONABLE PRACTICES;
His Examination before
His Majesty's most honourable Privy Council;
HIS COMMITMENT TO THE
TOWER,
AND
SUBSEQUENT TREATMENT.

Les corps reculent, et la réputation marche.——CICERO.

London:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR, AND SOLD BY J. RIDGWAY,
31K STREET; M. D. SIMONDS, PATIL-ROSTER-ROW;
W. D. HOLT, NEWARK 1794.

[Price 12 6d.]

Figure 8. Jeremiah Joyce. *Sermon Preached on Sunday February the 23rd 1794 with An Appendix Containing an account of the Author's Arrest for Treasonable Practices.* (For the Author 1794).

Lindsey's letter is interesting because it is one of the few pieces of evidence of support for Joyce coming from the Unitarian Church. It is notable that entries in the Unitarian Society minute book are sparse in this period and there is no mention of Joyce or politics.⁸⁵ With Priestley recently departed for America and the general vilification and derision with which Unitarians were held, it would have been prudent to maintain silence on such political issues as a Unitarian minister accused of treason. Furthermore, had the government been successful in convicting Joyce and his co-defendants, it was rumoured that no fewer than 800 warrants against reformers doubtless including many Unitarians, had been drawn up.⁸⁶

The government's main charge against Horne Tooke was that as leader of the SCI, he was instrumental in the dissemination of the works of Paine. To some extent therefore, it was the SCI that was on trial.⁸⁷ Tooke's acquittal on 22 November, removed the grounds upon which the Government intended charging the other members of the SCI including Joyce and his release could be realistically anticipated from that date. Therefore, with the prospect of his release, the heads of the Unitarian community may have felt more disposed to give public support by permitting the combination of the *Sermon* with the *Appendix* and its publication as testament to the merit of Joyce and his recent actions

Over the period of the trials the timing of Joyce's decisions to publish and therefore develop both his own public image and promote the cause of reform, shows a degree of tactical thinking. His engraved portrait appeared between the close of Hardy's trial and the beginning of Tooke's when the tide was turning in favour of the reformers. He published the *Account* after Tooke's trial which had a successful outcome from the reformer's point of view, when the government had lost its claim to have exposed conspiratorial plottings, when the issue in front of the public had become

⁸⁵Essex Hall MSS, *Unitarian Minute Book*.

⁸⁶Thompson, p. 150.

⁸⁷Goodwin, p. 353.

the rights of Juries, and at a point when Joyce anticipated that he would be one of the next to stand trial. In publishing his *Account* Joyce was therefore making a tactical appeal to the judiciary of the reading public.

Printed for the Author and sold in London and Newark for 1s 6d the 'Sermon plus Appendix' claimed the moral legitimacy of the pulpit. As such it exhibits the links between theological and political dimensions of Unitarian thought. The constellation of ideas that are expressed in it, trace the pattern of Unitarian thought as it moved from the religious to the secular realm. The theological considerations of the *Sermon*, in which a particular species of knowledge of the future is claimed as exhibiting the hand of divine providence in the design of events, is linked to the contemporary realm of human political action through the suffering of the Scottish martyrs and Joyce's personal trials.

The *Sermon* has strongly portentous overtones:

It is not my province to sound the trumpet of alarm: "sufficient to the day is the evil thereof". One thing, however, is deserving of attention; that general expectation is looking for times of uncommon importance. The opinion that we are drawing near to an eventful period is almost universal. It may be, that danger and distress are standing at our doors; it is time, therefore, to consider whether we are to act our parts with patience and dignity. Whether we are ready to sustain every thing which *power* can inflict, rather than disgrace the cause in which we have embarked by a submission to base and servile motives. The signs of the times must present to every considerate person, an aspect as solemn and awful as the world ever witnessed.⁸⁸

The sense of the unfolding of momentous events and the need for firm, morally-justified action that might lead to a form of martyrdom, is sustained in the *Sermon* by reference to the Scottish Martyrs

⁸⁸Joyce, *Sermon and Account*, p. 22.

recently sentenced and on board the *Surprise* transport to Botany Bay. Joyce refers to them as 'some [who] are already suffering for their attachment to principles which they believed would tend to the happiness of the world'.⁸⁹ At the end of the *Sermon* and before the *Account*, Joyce reproduces the address of the SCI to the Scottish Martyrs which applauded their actions and assured them that 'the memory of your virtues shall never be effaced from our breasts', and promised 'the cause for which you struggled, is a glorious cause, the World that has witnessed your exertions, shall witness ours also'.⁹⁰

The attached *Account* not only recounts Joyce's arrest, but offers a justification for his political actions and uses extracts of the first report of the SCI which state the society's democratic concerns:-

to diffuse this knowledge [of the Constitution] universally through the realm, to circulate it through every village and hamlet, and even to introduce it into the humble dwelling of the cottager.⁹¹

To Joyce there was clearly a chain of reasoning that traversed the worlds of religion, morality and politics and which easily shifted from an account of the divine to the realm of human and social action. To him moral and political actions were those that were justified within the tenets of Unitarian thinking and which were guided by the model of the man Jesus Christ who had received god imparted knowledge of the future.

At the time of publication (late November/early December 1794), when Joyce's public profile was at its highest, it was the *Account*, published as supplementary material to the main body of the text - the *Sermon* - which detailed his experiences as a state prisoner, that may have been the major selling point of the publication. The supplementary nature of an 'appendix' therefore was a

⁸⁹ibid., p. 23.

⁹⁰ibid., p. 25/6n.

⁹¹ibid., p. 14.

contrivance and a means to publicise his experience as an oppressed reformer and was another contribution to the pamphlet war between the government and reformers. From the Unitarian perspective the attachment of the *Account* to the *Sermon*, served to provide the support of the Unitarian community for the actions of one of its most radical members. From Joyce's personal perspective, the fortuitous turn of events meant that his activities as a political radical were vindicated and the linking of the *Sermon* with the *Account* affirmed the support of his own religious community.

3.7 Release and reception

Joyce was released on 1 December. The government began proceedings against John Thelwall on the same day but the jury returned a verdict of not guilty 5 days later and the last of the accused (John Richter and John Baxter) were released on 15th December. The trials were over and the government had suffered a considerable and surprising defeat. Back in May, on the strength of popular anti-French sentiment, Pitt might well have anticipated a repeat of the convictions in Scotland. In the event, the trials moved beyond the government's control and turned from the prosecutions of seditious and traitorous plotters, to a symbolic drama in which the rights of Juries and the rights of Englishmen were at stake. After the trials medals were struck to celebrate the acquittals and there were many other celebrations. Joyce was kept in the public eye by the publicity given to the party given by Stanhope on Joyce's release. The village of Chevening was lit up, over 400 guests were invited and the revelries lasted all night. Joyce was presented on the arm of Hester Stanhope (Lord Stanhope's daughter), and there was a collection of emblematic figures standing behind a large notice reading THE RIGHTS OF JURIES. The *Gentleman's Magazine* (generally no supporter of Unitarians or radicals), of January 1795 acknowledged the celebration as a triumph of the cause of liberty.

The acquittals they assembled to celebrate they considered as the triumph of truth and innocence, as an event which would give people confidence in the justice of our laws, the integrity of our juries and the independence of our judges, as an event which would perpetuate the rights of Englishmen and give vigour and stability to the constitution in King, Lords and Commons as by law established.⁹²

Joyce published a second edition of the *'Sermon plus Account'* signed Chevening 15 January 1795, in which he added a further eleven pages to the first edition which he used to remonstrate with his accusers, expose the fraudulence of their case and respond to the group of politicians, including Edmund Burke and William Windham (MP for Norwich), who had claimed that the 12 accused were 'accused felons'. Joyce argued that throughout his imprisonment various 'alarms' were put out to 'excite the public' against the accused through the publication of hand bills and reports which were distributed, often free of charge. Furthermore, Joyce claimed that parliament's declaration that there was a traitorous conspiracy as it appeared in the published reports of the committee of secrecy, was an attempt by the government to persuade the country and the grand jury of the guilt of the accused, and he saw such action as propaganda that effectively usurped the cause of justice and the right to objective trial.⁹³ Joyce disputed many of the points raised in the various newspaper accounts and denied all knowledge of the spies who gave evidence. In particular, he gave a lengthy account of the intercepted note that he had sent to Tooke and which had been interpreted as the date of a potential insurrection but which, he claimed, was in fact an innocent note referring to a publication date.

In the debates of the House of Commons on 30 December, Windham had referred to Thomas Hardy as 'an acquitted felon' and contended it was 'by no means proved that [the twelve accused]

⁹²*Gentleman's Magazine* i. (1795), p.73.

⁹³Joyce, *Sermon and Account*, p.18.

were free from moral guilt'.⁹⁴ Windham's accusation that the accused in the *Treason Trials* were acquitted felons lingered in the public imagination and was used by Gillray in his famous 'New Morality' caricature which appeared three years later. (Figure 9). As one who experienced this 'mark of moral guilt', Joyce responded that as there were no real charges against him and he had only received a *form* of a trial, he could not be shown to be legally guilty.⁹⁵ He accused Mr Windham of seeking to portray him as morally guilty because he could not substantiate the charge of legal guilt. Joyce hit back with the comment that he, due to his own relative lack of 'political guilt', could sleep better at night than Mr Windham and friends.⁹⁶ In a reference to the French wars he accused Windham of having 'the innocent blood of unnumbered thousands', the 'misery of the cottager' and 'the mournful complaints of the disconsolate widow and helpless orphan' on his conscience, and he went on to claim that whilst Windham's ambitions were to make himself powerful and rich, his (Joyce's) motives were to 'increase knowledge' which he considered 'the best and surest fountain of virtue' and which he pursued in the interests of the 'rights of the people'.⁹⁷

Joyce went on to rail against Pitt who he accused of reneging on former principles and having intending to strike 'a mighty and awful stroke aimed at every thing that was dear to the social interests of mankind'. He claimed that 'Justice had averted the blow' and the 'Liberties of the country will stand on a firmer basis than before'. Joyce turned the accusation round to accuse the ministers of being guilty of perpetrating a campaign in their own interests: their real motive for publicly labelling the twelve as accused felons, he said, was 'an apology for their own conduct'. Obviously stung by the accusation of moral guilt Joyce refuted the charge and claimed to prefer a

⁹⁴Goodwin, p. 366/7.

⁹⁵Joyce, *Sermon and Account*, p. 27.

⁹⁶*ibid.*

⁹⁷*ibid.*, p.27/8.



Figure 9. Detail from Gillray's famous New Morality caricature. *Anti-Jacobin Magazine and Review*, 1 August 1798.

public execution than live 'a suspected man'.⁹⁸ In his closing comments Joyce made a statement that protested his innocence and depicted the evidence produced in the trials of plotting violent insurrection, as the creation of spies. He claimed that the Society for Constitutional Information was only ever concerned with 'publicity' in the pursuit of parliamentary reform.⁹⁹

The role of publicity and publication is a crucial feature of the political events of the 1790s and represents one of most important arenas in which the government and radicals confronted each other. Anti-reform elements of the government could not win the support of the public through arguing simply for the restriction of free debate and the liberty of the press, and their line therefore was to accuse the leading members of reform groups of holding anarchic intentions. Their line of attack had to be essentially personal, as once cast into an arena in which principles dominated, they were hard pressed to justify what could easily caricatured as unacceptable restrictions on liberty. For the radicals of the SCI however, the publications of Paine and such projects as Joyce and Tooke's attempt to the publish lists of government sinecures, could ostensibly be justified under the claim of the freedom of the press, but the ideas and potential outcomes of such publication were clearly political. Once generally released, such publications held the possibility of translating reformist intention into the potential for destabilisation of the current status quo and a consequent breakdown in social order. Both sides therefore deployed smoke screen tactics to cover their real motives and both claimed the moral high ground as their own. Over the period of building reformist pressure - essentially up to the mid 1790s and the introduction of the Gagging Acts in 1795, the two sides shifted their positions to suit particular circumstances in order to give themselves the best purchase on the moral high ground.

⁹⁸ibid., p. 28.

⁹⁹ibid., p. 30.

It is in this process of contestation over the moral high ground in which Joyce's actions, and in particular, the affixing of the *Sermon* to the *Account* are best understood. As a minister and using the moral platform of the pulpit, Joyce extended the older traditions of dissent associated with such figures as the reformist ministers Price and Priestley, into the confrontational arena of radical politics and he used the vehicle of popular publications, justified on the basis of moral and educational concern, to do so. Through linking the *Sermon* to the *Account* Joyce claimed that it was the providential hand of God that was introducing a new form of government which Joyce saw as based on a more equitable representation with better safeguards against abuse. From his ministerial and Unitarian standpoint Joyce claimed (in his *Sermon*) to have read God's intentions - as far as a human can - and justifies his actions as a political activist (in the *Account*) on the basis of trying to aid the fulfilment of those intentions. In a telling letter from William Skirving, one of the Scottish Martyrs aboard a transport to Botany Bay, Skirving thanked Joyce for the consoling thought that 'he who at first commanded the light to shine out of the darkness, hath commenced his wonderful work'.¹⁰⁰ Joyce clearly thought God's providential hand was at work.

3.8 The aftermath.

Stanhope's support of Fox's Libel Act was vindicated in this episode: his own children's tutor was released on the basis of the Act he had helped to promote. Joyce was portrayed as a hero for the cause of liberty. He was offered the pulpit at several London meetings and became a sought after preacher. Shortly after the releases on 4 February 1795 a public celebratory dinner was held in the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand at which Stanhope took the chair. After toasts including 'To the "swinish multitude" and may the honest hogs never cease to grunt, until their wrongs be righted' (a reference to Burke), and to a packed audience of 1300 and no doubt fired by anger over the way his employee had been treated, Stanhope praised the acquitted:-

¹⁰⁰TS 11/964. Extracts of Joyce's letters.

Citizens, We have seen several of our best-intentioned fellow-citizens immured for many months in close confinement for crimes they never did commit nor dream of. We have seen several of them afterwards dismissed, without a single witness, or a single fact, or a single tittle of evidence (either written or parole) being so much as even produced against them. But, we have seen those worthy men dismissed without any species of indemnity; and also, without any kind of legal punishment having been inflicted (as yet) upon any one of their accusers.¹⁰¹

Stanhope went on to denounce what he saw as the abuse of power - no doubt taking a swipe at his brother in law Pitt - and, by implication, urged constitutional change.

Citizens,

Are certain courtly aristocrats and apostates never to cease trampling under foot the rights of their fellow citizens, the Liberties of their country and the justice of the Nation in this barefaced and unprecedented manner?¹⁰²

Stanhope claimed that trial by Jury was the first principle of proper government and was the 'citadel of the constitution', closely followed by the freedom of the Press as 'the palladium of the People's rights' and which used the art of printing to provide 'the new luminary' that would enlighten the 'gloomy night of ignorance'.¹⁰³ Stanhope's feeling of vindication resulted to a large extent on the actions of his employee Joyce, who had stood to lose his life. In extending the 'luminary' benefits of the art of printing Stanhope later developed his famous printing press and supported Joyce in many literary projects including the production of cheap distillations of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* and William Paley's *Evidences of Christianity* (discussed in chapter 4).

¹⁰¹*Substance of Earl Stanhope's Speech Delivered from the Chair at a Meeting of Citizens at the Crown and Anchor on the 4th February 1795 to Celebrate the Happy Event of the Late Trials for Supposed High Treason* (J.Burks, 1795), p. 5.

¹⁰²*ibid.*

¹⁰³*ibid.*, p. 8/9.

Although it is impossible to ascertain the precise relationship between Joyce and Stanhope, from the evidence of Joyce's subsequent literary production after the affair of the *Treason Trials*, Stanhope came to function more as Joyce's patron than his employer, and may have felt to some degree indebted to Joyce whom he might well have felt had borne the brunt of some of Pitt's fire that had really been intended for himself.

Joyce's subsequent political profile certainly mirrors that of Stanhope who virtually withdrew from public politics shortly after the February celebrations as did Joyce. The records of the LCS show that in the summer of 1795 Stanhope's support was sought for petitions to the King and that Stanhope was to some extent reluctant to offer it. The report from the spy Powell records that on 7 July, Richard Hodgson (an LCS member) reported to the LCS executive Committee that 'he had seen Citizen Joyce who had told him that Lord Stanhope was going to sea in the Experiment ship which he had been so long in constructing and that therefore the society must give up presenting the Address to the king for the present'.¹⁰⁴ However, no doubt shaken by his experiences, Joyce along with most of the members of the now disbanded SCI, chose to maintain a considerably lower public profile and turned his attention to the education of Stanhope's sons and the production of several literary speculations.

¹⁰⁴Thale, *Selections*, p. 260.

Chapter 4

Learning the craft of writing textbooks 1795-1800

4.1 From political to general education

Awaiting trial and imprisoned in the Tower in the summer of 1794 Joyce wrote:

...a reform in the representation depends less upon argument, than upon the result of the impending trials. Should their termination be *unfavourable*, the public may take a long farewell to every principle of reformation. Reason and truth, in that case, must make way for the operation of power.¹

The acquittal of the reformers in November and December 1794 may have provided some radicals and millenarians with evidence that the cause and principles of the French Revolution were spreading. In the event however, the outcome of the Treason Trials failed to confer public support for reform. By the mid 1790s, millenarian hopes that the French Revolution signalled the beginning of a new and just political and social order were dashed. In Britain, pro-French radicals, reformers and Unitarians had to rethink their positions and negotiate the powerful arguments from Edmund Burke and friends which pointed out the dangers and consequences of an overthrow of the status quo. In large measure, voices of opposition to Pitt's government were quieted if not stamped out. The minor victory of the reformers in the 1794 Treason Trials was lost to the major victory that the government had in removing any mechanisms for organised opposition. In 1795 the SCI disbanded and the pressure Pitt exerted through the Gagging Acts quickly forced the LCS to dissolve as well.

¹*Account*, p. 2.

The combination of political disillusionment and his frightening experiences in the Tower and Newgate no doubt urged Joyce to adopt a less prominent opposition to Pitt's Government and he retired from the world of metropolitan radicalism and political education. Like many others Joyce disassociated himself from the revolutionary implications of Paine's *Rights of Man* and withdrew his political aspirations to the safer ground of constitutional reform.

In England, the ideological capital made by conservative forces in the government of the events in France, reinforced the arguments made by Burke in his highly influential *Reflections*. Burke's deeply pessimistic view of human nature led him to view people as governed by passion rather than reason.² Reason, for Burke, was 'fallible and feeble' whereas natural instinct was 'unerring and powerful'.³ His view of human reason was pivotal in his view of government which, he claimed, had to be constituted from natural forces beyond human reason. His justification for the legitimacy of government and social hierarchy was that 'Our political system is placed in a just correspondence and symmetry with the Order of the World'.⁴ Burke's views, combined with the events in France had particularly trenchant effects on Unitarians and forced rational dissenters to rethink their use of reason as a standard for political change. Rational dissenters considered reason to be a higher authority than the established church and state, and to provide the proper mechanism for both secular and spiritual progress. It was an appeal to reason that informed the claims of the non-orthodox dissenter for equal rights, and much of their project was directed to the progressive revelation of God through the exercise of reason in uncovering God's will. Yet Richard Price's claim in his famous *Discourse on the Love of our Country*, that the French Revolution introduced 'The dominion of reason and conscience', rang hollow in the face of the massacres in France.⁵

²Gregory Claeys, *Thomas Paine: Social and Political Thought* (Unwin Hyman, 1989), p. 66.

³Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, in *The Writings and Speeches of Edmund Burke*, ed. by L.G. Mitchell (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989), Vol. 8, p. 84.

⁴*ibid.*

⁵Price, *Discourse*.

After the September massacres it became progressively harder to use 'reason' as a platform on which to justify social change or promote Unitarianism. In the realms of both politics and religion, the appeal to 'reason' as part of a polemical strategy or a rhetorical device, was removed from the armoury of the dissenter as it had been captured by conservative propagandists.

Like many intellectuals Joyce had to rethink his position and find ways of accommodating his principles and vision within the intellectual climate. The realities of Robespierre's France cast the vision of a reformed and democratic government as a possibility for the long term, rather than for the immediate or medium term future. Joyce's answer, consistent with the general decrease in radical political agitation after the mid 1790s, was to shift his energies to general rather than political education. It was education rather than politics that would usher in the new millennium and Joyce's educational concerns became focused on theology and science.

The educational writings of John Locke offered a theory and mechanics of understanding, were highly influential in England through most of the eighteenth century. S.F. Pickering may be overstating the case when arguing that, for educationalists, Locke achieved 'practically biblical status'.⁶ It is clear however, that most dissenters were highly influenced by Locke and the leading Unitarian, Joseph Priestley, combined much of Locke's thought with the associationist psychology of David Hartley, to produce a vision of liberal education designed to serve the interests of rational religion and new forms of commerce and industry.⁷ Writing in 1815, Joyce and his fellow Unitarians, William Shepherd and Lant Carpenter, used Lockean categories in their programme for systematic education and claimed that: 'Man regarded as a moral agent, and an accountable being,

⁶S.F. Pickering, *John Locke and Children's Books in Eighteenth Century England* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee, 1981), p. 9.

⁷Ruth Watts, 'Joseph Priestley and Education', *Enlightenment & Dissent*, 2 (1983), 83-100, (p. 83 & 100).

is a compound of habits'.⁸ Through inculcation of appropriate habits childhood development could be directed to produce good citizens and, as a consequence, a better society. The ideas of Locke and Hartley offered a pedagogical framework with which to form children and therefore influence the future development of society. Joyce's educational project however, never lost its radical and dissenting agenda and he used the psychology of Locke and Hartley as both a model for child development and their wider theories as explanation of the causes of social injustice. What he viewed as the shortcomings of society he explained, in Lockean terms, as being due to the 'habits and character' formed by current social and political arrangements acting to produce uniformly unthinking men.

The prescriptions of civil authority universally act as barriers to the improvement of the Arts and which produce a uniformity of habit and character [which] tends to lower the man to the level of brutal instinct, rather than raise him higher in the scale of intelligent creation.⁹

Nearly all Joyce's works were concerned with education, and particularly after 1800, with education that extended knowledge to new and expanding audiences that included readers from a variety of social origins. His educational gradualism however, was not directly targeted at the lower orders. Through his period with Stanhope in particular, Joyce's educational gradualism was neither simply secular in aspiration, nor proto-socialist in design. Rather, he adopted a position of intellectual and theological paternalism which supported a vision of general social development pursued by the upper and middle classes that would gradually raise the level of understanding of God's creation. His vision was not shared by more conservative thinkers who saw any extension of education as a dangerous threat to the social order. Whilst not directly political in the sense that

⁸ William Shepherd, Lant Carpenter & Jeremiah Joyce, *Systematic Education* (Longmans, 1815), p. 3.

⁹*ibid.*, p. 6.

his distribution of the radical literature of political education had been, Joyce's gradualist vision retained the radical political goal of extending reason and learning to the lower orders.

4.3 With Stanhope 1795 - 1800

After the Treason Trials Joyce spent much of his time at Stanhope's country residence, Chevening, Kent. Stanhope provided him with a servant and built him a house in the grounds 'not a bow shot from the house' which possessed a library 'five yards square'.¹⁰ He occupied a position of relative privilege and was invited to share the company of aristocratic visitors to Chevening - a fact which struck Joyce's friend William Shepherd, with amusement as he recorded the spectacle of Joyce 'an acquitted felon' in discussion with Sir Isaac Heird, Garter King-at-Arms.¹¹ At the same meeting was Francis Webbe, MP for Taunton and Order of the Garter, whom Hannah Joyce described as 'a good friend of Joyce'.¹² Webbe later accompanied Frances Jackson, Minister to Berlin, to the negotiations of the Peace of Amiens in 1801 and wrote, for Joyce, a lengthy description of the layout and workings of the French National Assembly.¹³

In 1796 Joyce married Elizabeth Harding (1776-1847), niece of the celebrated Captain Fagg who had provided relief at the siege of Gibraltar. The Fagg family had formerly been wealthy but had lost the greater part of its fortune in the South Sea Bubble.¹⁴ Elizabeth's parents were tallow chandlers in London and Joyce may have encountered Elizabeth through his brother Joshua who was also a tallow chandler. Their first child, Hannah, was born in 1797 and they were in a fairly comfortable position at Chevening. Joyce was able to work on a number of literary projects and keep up many of his contacts in London. However, his main occupation was as tutor to Stanhope's

¹⁰Hannah Ridyard (nec Joyce), *A selection*, p. 65/6.

¹¹*ibid.*, p. 68.

¹²Shepherd MSS. Vol. 3, No 165. Hannah compiled the Shepherd Manuscripts and wrote a foreword to a letter from Francis Webbe to Joyce 1st Dec. 1801.

¹³*ibid.*

¹⁴Shepherd MSS. Vol. 10, No 89. Helen Joyce to Hannah Ridyard, Lowestoft 1856.

children all of whom became increasingly unhappy with the atmosphere at Chevening (although there is no indication that this unhappiness was due to Joyce), and who left between 1796 and 1801. Joyce departed in 1800 and although his reasons for leaving are described by his daughter Hannah as 'motives of high honour', there is no explicit account.¹⁵ A possible explanation is that Joyce was embarrassed by the involvement in the departure of the children, of Stanhope's brother-in-law, Prime Minister William Pitt, who had been so instrumental in Joyce's arrest and prosecution. Pitt was very close to Stanhope's children by his first marriage - Hester, Grizelda and Lucy, and became involved with the careers of the children of Stanhope's second marriage - Mahon, Charles and James. He had helped arrange the 'escapes' from Chevening of all the children, had settled the husbands of Grizelda and Lucy and was especially close to Hester, who went to live with Pitt for several periods in and after 1800 until his death.¹⁶

Joyce dedicated a number of his books to Charles and James, who appear as characters in the *Scientific Dialogues* (1800- 03) (discussed below). He was very attached to the children and maintained his friendship with Hester, whose coming-out party was also the celebration of Joyce's release from the Tower.¹⁷ When Mahon escaped from Chevening in 1801, Joyce lent him 'a substantial sum of money' which was never repaid - an oversight for which Hester never forgave her brother.¹⁸ There is no evidence of the type of education Joyce gave, although education was a subject of some dispute in Chevening. Stanhope was very strict and refused the requests from the boys to send them to Eton, insisting that they were taught at home.¹⁹

¹⁵Shepherd MSS, Vol. 3 no 179. Letter, Hester Stanhope to Joyce 8th May 180?.

¹⁶Ghita Stanhope, pp 239-243: John Erhman, *The Younger Pitt: The Consuming Struggle*, (Constable, 1996) p. 545.

¹⁷Joan Haslip, *Lady Hester Stanhope* (Cobden Sanderson, 1934), p. 11.

¹⁸Shepherd MSS, Vol. 3, No 179. Hester Stanhope to Joyce. Hannah's explanatory note.

¹⁹Jean Gordan Hughes, *Queen of the desert: The Story of Lady Hester Stanhope* (Macmillan, 1960), p. 18; Ghita Stanhope, p. 239.

After 1795 when Stanhope left the Lords, he threw himself into his scientific work making the main drawing-room at Chevening an experimental laboratory and working on a range of projects including the development of his printing press and the process of stereotyping. He liaised with Robert Fulton in his canal building projects, and continued his work on the ambi-vessel which was a boat with two bows.²⁰ There is no record of Joyce being directly involved with any of these projects, but as Stanhope's secretary, Joyce must have been aware of them and he would later refer to Stanhope's electrical experiments in many of his works. Stanhope clearly had a supportive relationship with Joyce and even after Joyce had left Stanhope's employment, and became concerned about losing his sight, Stanhope assured him that in the worst event he would support him.²¹

Joyce's status with Stanhope was, at the same time, one of employee in his tutoring and secretarial duties, and one of 'patronee' in his literary work. His relationship with Stanhope therefore cannot be considered simply as one in which he was financially supported in the pursuit of his literary endeavours as was the case, for instance, of Sir Thomas Abney's support of Isaac Watts in the 1730s and 40s. The relationship does have some parallels with that of Priestley to Lord Shelburne in the 1770s, in that a Whig aristocrat supported a radical Unitarian in the pursuit of literary and scientific endeavours, but Joyce had considerable teaching duties and he was not a philosopher and experimenter of Priestley's stature.

Stanhope clearly supported Joyce in his political and literary endeavours, although the sense in which Stanhope was Joyce's 'patron', is complex. It is important to distinguish the Hanoverian political notion of patronage in which royal ministers managed parliament on behalf of the King, from the high cultural or artistic notion of patronage in which a wealthy supporter sponsors an

²⁰Ghita Stanhope, pp. 164-186.

²¹Shepherd MSS. Vol. 3 no. 293 Stanhope to Joyce Letter Mar. 24th 1801.

artist, writer, explorer or architect in the pursuit of their endeavours. This later version of patronage is difficult to fit to Joyce and Stanhope as Joyce wrote abridgements of other writer's texts which became textbooks for students - hardly high culture. Yet both aspects of patronage are present in Joyce's relationship with the aristocratic Stanhope. On the one hand the relationship was one of political patronage: Joyce acted as Stanhope's political agent in the early 1790s, and helped to further Stanhope's political goals of educational gradualism through the later 1790s. As such, Joyce did 'Stanhope's business' in the same way royal ministers did 'The King's business'. On the other hand the relationship was one of artistic patronage in that Joyce was supported to produce works that were a product of Joyce's own concerns and literary skills.

Whilst working for Stanhope, Joyce retained his connection with Essex Street Chapel. From 1793, when Theophilus Lindsey retired from the ministry and John Disney took over, until 1804, when Thomas Belsham became Minister, Joyce was 'afternoon preacher' at Essex Street: he would take the less popular afternoon service.²² Immediately after the Treason Trials he was a much sought-after preacher and preached at Hackney and Carter-Lane meetings.²³ Over the following years however, many in the Unitarian community became apprehensive about Joyce. His close friend Theophilus Lindsey failed to find a ministry for Joyce at Shrewsbury in 1799 due to fears concerning 'the Newgate affair'.²⁴ Joyce was therefore too tainted with radicalism for total acceptance into the general Unitarian community.

²²Walter Wilson, *The History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches and Meeting Houses in London, Westminster and Southwark* (For the Author, 1810), Vol. 3, p. 490.

²³Joyce, *Appendix*, p. 24.

²⁴Manchester, John Rylands Library: Unitarian College MSS, Lindsey to John Rowe, Oct. 5 1799.

4.3.1 Publishing with Benjamin Flower in Cambridge: The case of the Scottish Martyrs

Joyce made one more appearance in front of the public in which his name was associated with radical politics. This was the publication of the hardships of the Scottish Martyrs endured in their transportation to Botany Bay whilst Joyce was in the Tower in 1794.

Joyce had many connections with the Scottish 'Martyrs' through the SCI's contact with the LCS who sent delegates to the first and second general conventions of Scottish reformers in Edinburgh in December 1792 and April 1793. These conventions had caught the attention of the authorities and provoked the arrest and prosecution for sedition of the five 'Martyrs'. Through the Unitarian community Joyce had come to know one of the most prominent of the Martyrs - Thomas Fyshe Palmer (1747-1802), who was sentenced to 7 years in Botany Bay by Lord Braxfield under the Scottish legal system in 1793. Joyce, Stanhope, Thomas Hardy (the leader of the LCS), and many others in the Unitarian community had supported the cause of the Martyrs and campaigned for a re-trial, but the *Surprise* transport carrying many convicts and settlers, including Palmer and his fellow Martyrs, sailed from Portsmouth on 2 May 1794, arriving six months later in Port Jackson. The journey was very eventful. Palmer, along with Thomas Muir and William Skirving had been accused of plotting to murder the ship's Captain Campbell, and had become estranged from another of the Martyrs, Maurice Margarot, whom they felt had been instrumental in creating the charges against them. As a result, throughout the greater part of the journey Palmer and Skirving were confined in a very small cabin and deprived of many of their provisions and the comforts they had paid for. Their treatment was considerably less severe than that meted out to non-paying prisoners accused of plotting against the Captain some of whom were flogged, heavily manacled, chained on deck and given a minimum of biscuits and water.²⁵

²⁵This story is retold in Frank Clune, *The Scottish Martyrs* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1969); L. Baker Smith 'Thomas Fysche Palmer, From Eton to Botany Bay', *TUHS*, 13 (1964), 37 - 68.

Palmer subsequently wrote regular letters to his friends in the Unitarian community, including Joyce, who supplied him with a jacket and trousers and regularly sent him books.²⁶ Many of the Martyrs' letters to Joyce recording the journey and their grievances, were published in the *Morning Chronicle*. Palmer gave his full account of the journey in December 1794 to surgeon John White, who was returning to England after spending six years in New South Wales, with instructions to pass it on to Joyce. It was Palmer's account that was to form the basis of the publication which was organised, edited and introduced by Joyce - the *Narrative of the Sufferings of T.F. Palmer and W. Skirving during a Voyage to New South Wales, 1794, on board the Surprise Transport* (1797).²⁷ (Figure 10).

Joyce had become aware of difficulties on board the *Surprise* in January 1795 as he had seen a letter from Margarot detailing the confinement of Palmer, Muir and Skirving sent from Rio de Janeiro when the *Surprise* docked there.²⁸ Palmer's text however, reached Joyce in late April 1795. The *Narrative* also includes a letter to Joyce from Palmer, Muir, and Skirving, which recounted their mutual grievances and they addressed to Joyce, who they anticipated would be able and willing to publish them.

It is with peculiar satisfaction that, through your medium, we, whose names are hereunto subscribed, communicate to the public the reasons for our separation from Mr. Margarot.²⁹

²⁶Shepherd MSS. Vol. 10 , No 13, Palmer to Joyce, May 5th 1796.

²⁷T.F. Palmer, *Narrative of the Sufferings of T.F. Palmer and W. Skirving during a Voyage to New South Wales, 1794, on board the Surprise Transport* (Cambridge: Lunn, Deighton, Nicholson, 1797).

²⁸H. McLachlan, *The Letters of Theophilus Lindsey* (Manchester: Longmans, 1920), Lindsey to John Rowe (Jan 23, 1795), p. 96.

²⁹*Narrative*, Letter dated 9th Nov. 1794, Palmer, Muir and Skirving to Joyce.

NARRATIVE

OF
THE SUFFERINGS

OF
T. F. PALMER, AND W. SKIRFING,

DURING A VOYAGE TO

NEW SOUTH WALES, 1794,

ON BOARD

THE SURPRISE TRANSPORT.

BY

THE REV. THOMAS FYSHE PALMER,

LATE OF

QUEEN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

Cambridge;

PRINTED BY BENJAMIN FLOWER:

FOR W. H. LUNN, J. DEIGHTON, AND J. NICHOLSON; AND

SOLD BY J. MARCH, NORWICH; J. ABEL, NORTH-

AMPTON; T. LANGDON, LEEDS; G. G. AND

J. ROBINSON, AND T. CONDER,

LONDON.

M DCC XC VII.

[Price One Shilling and Six-pence.]

Figure 10. Title page. *A Narrative of the Sufferings ...* by Thomas Palmer (1797). Organised arranged and compiled by Joyce.

At the time of writing, the three could not have known that Joyce was in Newgate, but they clearly thought that Joyce offered the appropriate channel for publicising their experiences. Joyce did communicate their account to the public. Muir's letters appeared in the *Morning Chronicle* of July 1795 addressed to an unnamed 'friend in London'.³⁰ The *Telegraph* reproduced one of Skirving's letters addressed to Joyce alongside an account of the voyage of the *Surprize* entitled 'Botany Bay' and was based on papers 'in the possession of a gentleman of this city' [Joyce]. This report was purely descriptive and made no judgement on the case nor mentioned the reason for their transportation.³¹

Joyce compiled the *Narrative* from a number of sources: the letters from the Martyrs, the journal of William Skirving recording the events of the voyage, Palmer's account and over 60 depositions collected by Palmer, Muir and Skirving from witnesses on board. He also added Stanhope's protest over the original convictions to the Lords on 31 January 1794 (recorded in the Journals of the House of Lords), and a copy of the address of the SCI to the Martyrs as they waited to sail to Botany Bay.

Joyce therefore prepared Palmer's 'case'. Since the original copy of Palmer's text is no longer extant, it is not possible to ascertain whether Joyce changed or selected from the original, although given Joyce's concern with evidence and his aspiration to candour, it is unlikely. The front-page publishing details of the *Narrative* give the printer - Benjamin Flower, the publishers - W.H.Lunn, J. Deighton and J. Nicholson, and the booksellers - J.March, J.Abel, T.Langdon, J Robinson and T.Conder. That Flower, who reprinted Joyce's *Account* (1794) in the *Cambridge Intelligencer* in May 1795, should be involved in the publication is not surprising. He had Unitarian connections, and Palmer had formerly held a Fellowship at Queens College Cambridge which he had left for a

³⁰*Morning Chronicle* (July 29th 1795), p. 3.

³¹*Telegraph* (13th July 1795), p. 3.

post as a Unitarian minister. However, by the end of 1796 when the government's efforts to squash all subversive activities had come in to full force through the Gagging Acts, the publication of the text of a transported convict convicted of sedition might well have drawn the attention of the authorities. The delay between Joyce receiving the text in April 1795 and its publication on 31 December 1796, may have been due to difficulties and concerns in publishing what might have been a potentially dangerous document. Flower had placed a notice in his *Cambridge Intelligencer* of 15 October 1796 that the *Narrative* was 'in the press' but it was given as to be published by W.H.Lunn and Messrs Robinson of London - a much smaller list of publishers and printers than appeared in the advertisement for the *Narrative* when it was actually published in December giving exhaustive publishing details.³² Such details and the promotion of Palmer's status as a former Fellow of Cambridge, may have been an anticipatory manoeuvre in view of the potential charge of publishing seditious material (the Martyrs had been convicted of sedition).

All three publishers - Lunn, Deighton and Nicholson were respectable Cambridge publishers who were friends of Flower, and probably acquaintances of Palmer who had been expelled from his Fellowship as a result of his conviction in 1793.³³ Why these three publishers joined with Flower to publish a potentially dangerous political document for what was probably very little commercial benefit, remains unclear. A political history of the affair would have to explain why Flower was allowed to publish the *Narrative* and continue his activities, how he was able to publish critical and condemnatory blasts against Pitt's Government in his *Cambridge Intelligencer* - which E.P.Thompson refers to as 'the last national organ of intellectual Jacobinism' - and why Flower's editorials were allowed to disseminate radical opinion for ten years after most London radicalism

³²*Cambridge Intelligencer*, 31.12. 96.

³³David McKitterick, *History of Cambridge University Press*, vol. 2 (Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 246/7; John Gascoigne, *Cambridge in the Age of the Enlightenment* (Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 198.

had disappeared.³⁴ A potential answer might lie in the position which Cambridge had as an independent centre of printing and publishing in which some publishers who resented the shift from the older traditions of Cambridge as a Whig University to Toryism worked. They felt obliged to defend both their liberal traditions and liberal members expelled from the University. Flower had powerful support within the University, and had accused Pitt of corrupting the principles of the University when William Frend, who was to also become a close associate of Joyce, was expelled in 1793.³⁵ It may be that the same sentiments and support motivated the collective action of Flower, Lunn, Deighton and Robinson over the expulsion and subsequent tribulations of Palmer.

After a 'note to the reader' by Benjamin Flower, who apologised for the delay in publishing, Joyce's introduction opens by claiming that the Martyrs' original conviction and sentences were 'cruel and unprecedented' and that 'unnumbered thousands sympathise with them'.³⁶ The material that Joyce had been sent and the manner in which he chose to present it, was in the form of legal evidence. Joyce records that Palmer and Skirving had sought to clear their names through the English courts.³⁷ Joyce continues that as this was not possible - although no reason is given - 'their last resort is by means of the press'.³⁸

Joyce said that it was not his business to comment on the facts but to 'transmit the papers to the press',³⁹ and he presented the material as an appeal to the public. His introduction carries the flavours of legal discourse as he presented evidence for each step of his introductory account. His motive was to seek justice for the cruelly treated Martyrs and he reproduced their letters to him to

³⁴E.P. Thompson, 'Disenchantment or Default' in *Power and consciousness*, ed. by Connor C. O'Brien & William D. Vanech, (University of London Press, 1969), pp. 149-182 (p.166); Michael J. Murphy, *Cambridge Newspapers and Opinion 1780-1850* (Cambridge: Oleander, 1977), p. 42.

³⁵Frida Knight, *University Rebel: The Life of William Frend 1757- 1840* (Gollancz, 1971), p. 115; Gascoigne, p. 215.

³⁶*Narrative*, p. iv.

³⁷*ibid.*

³⁸*ibid.*, p. v.

³⁹*ibid.*, p. viii.

justify his actions. The severity of their treatment is emphasised by an extract from Skirving's log recording the flogging of two girls with the purpose of making them own up to the conspiracy. Stanhope's protest and the SCI's address is used as evidence of the good standing in which the Martyrs were held and of the injustices done to them. The depositions from which Joyce selected six to appear as appendices, were all from reputable travellers on the *Surprise* - settlers, military personnel and the ship's surgeon - and all supported Palmer's account.

Joyce was not afraid to attach his name to those of the Scottish Martyrs and to support the sentiments the *Narrative* contained. In the 1794 address from the SCI to the Martyrs reproduced in the *Narrative*, the support for the Martyrs is clear and states their mutual cause as 'The history of liberty for whose sake you are doomed to long and unmerited exile', in the pursuit of 'a full and fair representation of the people of Great Britain', and concludes with the prediction that :

the day is not very distant, when we shall again receive you on the British shores, the welcome children of a FREE and HAPPY country.⁴⁰

To reproduce such an inflammatory text when the war was going badly, when social conditions were harsh due a series of bad harvests, when anti-Jacobin feeling was dominant and when Pitt's government was pursuing repressive action against reformers, must have caused all those involved some concern. The *Narrative* was reviewed very favourably in the *Monthly Review* for February 1797, although the reviewer did not mention the cause of the Martyrs and focused on the injustice of their treatment on board ship:

Such inhumanity (according to the representation here given, of the truth of which we have no suspicion), loudly calls for a strict inquiry and exemplary justice.⁴¹

⁴⁰*Narrative*, p. 53.

⁴¹*Monthly Review* 24, (Feb. 1797), p. 236.

The story would figure again in Joyce's life. The only survivor of the four Martyrs to manage to get back to England was Maurice Margarot, with whom the others had felt so aggrieved. In Francis Place's papers there are accounts compiled mainly from the records of Joyce's friend Thomas Hardy, which detail Margarot's attempts to clear his name in 1810/11 and repudiate Palmer's account. There are several letters between Joyce and Hardy, which show that Joyce gave a guinea to the subscription raised for Margarot, that he was uncomfortable at his involvement but that he defended the truth of Palmer's account.⁴²

4.3.2 Publishing with Benjamin Flower in Cambridge: A literary apprenticeship

Joyce's first publication after the Treason Trials was *An Analysis of Paley's View of the Evidences of Christianity* (1795).⁴³ (Figure 11). This was an abridgement of Paley's original *A View of the Evidences of Christianity* published only one year earlier.⁴⁴ Paley's *Evidences* was concerned with the reasonableness of accepting revelation as further evidence of the existence of God. Paley believed that revelation confirmed natural theology, gave it greater certainty and added the assurance of a future state after death.⁴⁵ The *Evidences* responded directly to Hume's 1748 essay on *Miracles* which argued that miracles were contrary to universal experience and, since universal experience conferred truth, there were no grounds on which to believe them. The line Paley took was that it was more reasonable to believe the testimony of men who suffered persecution and death, than to deny the truth of such accounts.⁴⁶

⁴²British Library, Place Papers, Add. Manuscripts 27816, ff 80-82, ff. 97, Add. Manuscripts 27818, n98.

⁴³Jeremiah Joyce, *An Analysis of Paley's View of the Evidences of Christianity in Three Parts* (Cambridge, Flower, 1795)

⁴⁴William Paley *View of the Evidences of Christianity in Works of William Paley*, 5 Vols, ed. by J. Paxton (Oxford: Tegg, 1831, 1st ed. 1794), Vol. 1.

⁴⁵M.L. Clarke, *Paley: Evidences for the Man* (SPCK, 1974), p. 100.

⁴⁶*ibid*, p. 102.

The *Analysis* is a condensed version of Paley's original and was intended to exploit the Cambridge student market. Joyce went through Paley's original, cut out what he considered extraneous arguments and presented a condensed and much tighter formulation. He faithfully followed Paley's parts, chapters and sections, and generally followed the sequential presentation of the arguments. Figure 11, which comes from the opening lines of the two works under the title 'Preliminary Considerations', shows how Joyce's text is shorter, punchier, more direct, and lays before the reader the bones of the argument.

Joyce was probably commissioned by Flower for the work and it is unsurprising that an enterprising publisher in Cambridge would try to exploit the student market by producing a cheap distillation of the hugely successful Paley's *Evidences*, that had quickly become a student book although it is unclear when it became a set text.⁴⁷

In 1793, at the same time that Joyce was involved in publishing and distributing Paine's *Rights of Man* through the SCI, Paley had published *Reasons for Contentment Addressed to the Labouring Part of the British Public*, which, whilst projecting a potential future of greater ease for everyone, argued that the labourer could be happier than the wealthy man by being free from the 'heavy anxieties of the rich', and warned against disturbing 'our ancient course'.⁴⁸ The radical flavour of Joyce's vision are reflected in his advertisement of the second edition of the *Analysis* which suggested that the work would appeal to 'the friends of freedom of inquiry'.⁴⁹

⁴⁷Aileen Fyfe, 'Paley's Natural Theology', *BJHS*, 30, (1997), 321-35, (p. 324.)

⁴⁸William Paley, *Reasons for Contentment Addressed to the Labouring Part of the British Public*, in Paxton, *Works*, Vol. 3, pp. 287-300 (p. 290).

⁴⁹J. Joyce, *An Analysis of Paley's view of the Evidences of Christianity in Three Parts* (Cambridge: Benjamin Flower, 2nd edn., 1797). Advertisement signed Chevening, Kent, July, 1797.

AN
ANALYSIS
OF
PALEY'S
VIEW OF THE
Evidences of Christianity.
IN THREE PARTS.

<p style="text-align: center; font-size: small;">PART I.</p> <p>Of the direct Historical Evidence of Christianity, and wherein it is distinguished from the Evi- dence of other Miracles.</p>	<p style="text-align: center; font-size: small;">PART II.</p> <p>Of the auxiliary Evidences of Christianity.</p> <p style="text-align: center; font-size: small;">PART III.</p> <p>A brief Consideration of some popular Objections.</p>
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THE SECOND EDITION, CORRECTED.

Whence but from *heaven*, should men unfill'd in arts,
In different nations born, in different parts
Weave such agreeing truths? or how? or why?
Should *all* conspire to cheat us with a lie?
Unask'd their pains, ungrateful their advice,
Stealing their gains, and martyrdom their price.

DRYDEN.

Cambridge :

PRINTED BY B. FLOWER;

FOR J. DEIGHTON, AND J. NICHOLSON; AND FOR J. MARCH,
NORWICH; J. HEDLEY, LYNN; G. G. AND J. ROBINSON,
AND T. CONDER, LONDON.

M DCC XC VII.

Figure 12. Title page of Joyce's *Analysis of Paley's Evidences*, 2nd edn., 1797.

Given the apparent political distance between Paley and Joyce, it is tempting to see the radical Joyce who had just escaped from the charge of treason, as trying to recover a position of social respectability by publishing a work that flattered a liberal but highly reputable establishment cleric. However, political positions did not necessarily follow theological positions with all radicals on one side, and all establishment figures on the other. In sentiment, Unitarians had many sympathies with liberal Anglicanism and their social positions - Joyce was after all working for an aristocrat - were closer to those of establishment ministers than the labouring poor. Shared perspectives in which both Unitarian and Anglican ministers looked down, albeit with the benevolent motivations of paternalism, upon the 'humble cottager', served to resolve contradictory political positions which could be conveniently overlooked in the interests of a bigger theological issue and the shared authority of didactic preaching. In this sense, the co-ordinates of turn-of-the-century thinking were sufficiently elastic to accommodate a writer who had both a reputation as a political radical and who distilled theological argument for use by one of the established Universities.

By 1800 Joyce's *Analysis* sold at 3s, much cheaper than the 20s for Paley's original.⁵⁰ The market for the *Analysis* was not confined to the Cambridge students and it was also published in London and Norwich. The *Analysis* may well have appealed to those who wanted an abbreviated version for reasons of ease of understanding, for their children or for the purpose of study. Flower advertised the series of *Analyses* as:

..useful not only to persons who do not have the leisure to peruse the original, but to those who have perused them as they contain not merely a copious index, but the substance of the different volumes: they have been found particularly serviceable to students in the Universities.⁵¹

⁵⁰R.A.Peddie & Q. Waddington, *English Catalogue of Books* (Publisher's Circular, 1914).

⁵¹Benjamin Flower, *A statement of Facts* (Harlow: B.Flower, 1808) Advertisement at the end.

Paley's original (1794)

I deem it unnecessary to prove that mankind stood in need of a revelation, because I have met with no serious person who thinks that, even under the Christian Revelation, we have too much light, or any degree of assurance which is superfluous. I desire, moreover, that in judging of Christianity, it may be remembered that the question lies between this religion and none: for, if the Christian religion be not credible, no one, with whom we have to do, will support the pretensions of any other.

Suppose, then, the world we live in to have had a Creator: suppose it to appear, from the predominant aim and tendency of the provisions and contrivances observable in the universe, that the Deity, when he formed it, consulted for the happiness of his sensitive creation: suppose the disposition which dictated this counsel to continue; suppose a part of creation to have received faculties from their maker, by which they are capable of rendering a moral obedience to his will and of voluntarily pursuing any end for which he designed them; suppose the creator to intend for these, his rational and accountable agents, a second state of existence, in which their situation will be regulated by their behavior in the first state, by which supposition (and by no other) the objection to the divine government in not putting a difference between the good and the bad, and the inconsistency of this confusion with the care and benevolence discoverable in the works of the Deity, is done away; suppose it to be of the utmost importance to the subjects of this dispensation to know what is intended for them; that is, suppose the knowledge of it to be highly conducive to the happiness of the species, a purpose which so many provisions of nature are calculated to promote: Suppose, nevertheless, almost the whole race, either by the imperfection of their faculties, the misfortune of their situation, or by the loss of some prior revelation, to want this knowledge, and not to be likely, without the aid a new revelation, to attain it; Under these circumstances, is it improbable that a revelation should be made? Is it incredible that God should interpose for such a purpose? Suppose him to design for mankind a future state: is it unlikely that he should acquaint them with it?

Joyce's *Analysis* (1795)

Without attempting to prove the necessity of a revelation, it may be observed that in judging of Christianity, the question lies between *this* religion and none: for if Christianity be not credible, no one, with whom we have to do, will support the pretensions of any other. Suppose, then, there be a Creator, who in his works, has consulted the happiness of his sensitive creation;- suppose a part of his creation to have received from their maker faculties capable of rendering a moral obedience to his will;- suppose the Creator intends for these rational agents a *second* state of existence, in which their situation will be regulated by their behaviour in the *first*;- suppose the knowledge of it be conducive to the happiness of the species; under these circumstances is it impossible that a *revelation* should be made to acquaint them with it?

Notes.

From the first page of 'Preliminary Considerations' - the opening section of Paley's *Evidences*.

Underlined and bold text appearing in Paley's original is that which appears verbatim in Joyce's text.

Italics emphasis in Joyce is as his original.

Paley's original covered 3 pages with 394 words.

Joyce's *Analysis* covered just over half a page with 133 words

Figure 12. Comparison of Joyce's and Paley's text. Extract from 'Preliminary Considerations' - the opening section of Paley's original *Evidences*.

Flower's projected market was therefore sufficiently wide so as to include as many potential purchasers as possible. As Cambridge was not the exclusive market for the *Analysis*, it had to compete in the general market for religious writing. In March 1795 the evangelical Hannah More had begun to issue her series of Cheap Repository Tracts which sold the staggering figure of 2,000,000 by 1796.⁵² More's intention was to counter both the dangerous influence of Paine's *Rights of Man* and the political pamphlets issued through the early 1790s, and to ensure that popular literature was aimed at the greater glory of God and the security of the Nation.⁵³ At the time of the publication of Joyce's *Analysis*, there existed a flood of cheap religious literature. Costs were kept low through the sponsorship of More's *Tracts* by the Clapham Sect and by other supporters who enabled such tracts to be retailed between 1/2d and 1s-1/2d.⁵⁴ Joyce's *Analysis* however, was not the same type of religious propaganda. Joyce's theology held that the individual had to come to a reason based knowledge of God through the use of reason. In a telling letter to Thomas Belsham in 1808, Joyce's faith in reason is reflected in his fundamental premise that:

Unitarianism is not the doctrine that can make its way, in the same manner that Methodism is gaining ground: the one can only appeal to the reason and the understanding, the other by dealing out damnation to all around, terrifying thousands to profess a faith in what they know not.⁵⁵

In comparison with Hannah More's Cheap Tracts Joyce's *Analysis* of Paley had a much more sophisticated pedagogical and theological agenda that appealed to the reasoning faculty.

This commercial speculation proved successful. The *Analysis of the Evidences* reached its ninth edition by 1826, although it is not known whether Joyce or his descendants received any

⁵²R. Altick, *The English Common Reader* (Ohio State University Press, 1998), p. 75.

⁵³*ibid.*, p. 72.

⁵⁴*ibid.*, p. 75.

⁵⁵DWL, MSS 12.58.20, Letter, Joyce to Belsham, Dec. 2nd 1808.

payment. Joyce followed the same recipe of extracting important lines of text and presenting a more economic account of the argument in his *Analysis of Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations* (1797), which was a substantially larger task than the *Evidences*.⁵⁶ Flower announced publication in the *Cambridge Intelligencer* of 22 July 1797 and advertised it regularly at 5s. in boards. Slightly less successful than the *Analysis of the Evidences* its third edition appeared 1821. This edition was later revised and updated by Wolfson Emerton in 1877 and reprinted as an aid for Oxford students.⁵⁷ (Figure 13).

Smith's *Wealth of Nations* was attractive to Unitarians for many reasons. Smith's image of the 'invisible hand' of God, his scientific approach and his emphasis on individual enterprise and profit seeking, were consistent with Unitarian intellectual and social disposition. Furthermore, *The Wealth of Nations* was a highly successful work which suited many of the economic and social prejudices of the emergent bourgeoisie.⁵⁸ An abridgement of such a successful text offered Flower and Joyce commercial potential.

Flower went on to produce a series of abridgements which included another by Joyce - *An Analysis of Paley's Natural Theology* (1804) of Paley's original in 1802.⁵⁹ Less successful than the *Analysis of the Evidences*, the *Analysis of Natural Theology* did not go through as many editions probably because courses on the specific subject of the *Evidences* were part of many schools, Universities and Academy curricula and which therefore provided a substantial market base, whereas Natural Theology only appeared as part of Cambridge's combined exam in 1833.⁶⁰

⁵⁶Jeremiah Joyce, *A Complete Analysis or Abridgement of Dr. Adam Smith's Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (Cambridge: Flower 1797).

⁵⁷Wolfson P. Emerton, *An Analysis of Adam Smith's Inquiry into the nature and causes of the wealth of nations* (Oxford: James Thornton, 1877). Reprinted from Joyce's 3rd edn.

⁵⁸T.D.Campbell, *Adam Smith's Science of Morals* (Allen & Unwin, 1971), p. 15.

⁵⁹Jeremiah Joyce, *An Analysis of Paley's Natural Theology or Evidences of the Existence and Attributes of the Deity Collected from the Appearances of Nature* (Cambridge: Flower, 1804).

⁶⁰Fyfe, p. 324.

While working for Stanhope, Joyce also began work on two publications for the radical Unitarian publisher Joseph Johnson. These were an updated and enlarged version of William Enfield's *Institutes of Natural Philosophy* (1799, 1st ed., 1785), and Joyce's most famous and successful work, the *Scientific Dialogues* (1800-1803), which are discussed in chapter 6.

By the time Joyce left Stanhope in 1800 he was skilled in making economic abridgements of works by others. He had worked at selecting and presenting scientific ideas and updating and extending a scientific textbook. He had begun to develop his own style of presentation of information to children and had learnt several literary ploys in presenting knowledge and guiding readers through sequences of scientific thinking and experimental procedure. He had cultivated contact with two publishers and experienced some of the concerns and compromises of publishing and the marketplace for books. In the emerging profession of educational writing Joyce had to develop the literary skills with which to anticipate and approach the sensibilities of the child or learner. As the audience was expanding, he had to develop a language and style that would attract as many readers as possible. At a time when serious marketisation of literary material and educational products for mass audiences was in an early stage of development, Joyce both learned to appeal to the market, and helped to create it. He would, over the next sixteen years, make a living from writing educational texts mainly for children and young people and his early experiences, the contacts he gained and above all, the skills he learnt in the craft of writing abridgements, enabled him to do so.

In 1800 the role and justification of education within society as a whole was not clear. The question of whether the poor should be educated was a politically sensitive issue, especially so given the associations made between education and the French Revolution the effects of which were so immediate to Britain in the Napoleonic Wars. Joyce held to the theory of educational gradualism but in quite what form, to whom and to what extent such education should exist,

AN ANALYSIS OF
 ADAM SMITH'S INQUIRY INTO THE
 NATURE AND CAUSES OF THE
 WEALTH OF NATIONS

REPRINTED, WITH ADDITIONS, FROM THE THIRD EDITION OF
 JEREMIAH JOYCE'S ABRIDGEMENT

REVISED AND EDITED BY
 WOLSELEY P. EMERTON, M.A., B.C.L.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD

PART I.
 BOOKS I. and II.

Oxford
 JAMES THORNTON, HIGH STREET
 1877

Figure 13. Title page of Wolfson P. Emerton's 1877 revised edition of Joyce's *Analysis of Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations*.

cannot be determined. With Stanhope, whose work on the press and the process of stereotyping was designed to make the written word more accessible to a wider section of society, Joyce bridged the eighteenth century traditions of constitutional reform, which placed so much faith in the extension of education, but was yet to negotiate the complex, fickle and highly competitive demands of the markets of the nineteenth century. At the turn of the century the domain of education was emerging as a recognisable force within society and Joyce would play a part in shaping the literary products that shared in its construction.

Chapter 5

A rational and pious man

5.1 Introduction

Surviving details of Joyce's life are insufficient to build a comprehensive account of his personal and social circumstances. In the following sections a number of vignettes of the Unitarian world in which Joyce's activities can be traced, between the time when Joyce left the employment of Lord Stanhope (November 1799), and his death in June 1816. The central claim of the chapter is that Joyce's reputation as an 'acquitted felon' and a pro-French radical was highly embarrassing for Unitarian community in general and that, consequently, Joyce was only permitted a public profile where his name would not generate a negative press. Section 5.2 collects what information there is about Joyce's life and traces the obituary notices that followed on his death. Section 5.3 endeavours to cast Joyce against the social background of metropolitan Unitarianism and introduces the theme of rational piety as a way of understanding Joyce's intellectual and theological disposition; Section 5.4 traces Joyce's activities as secretary to the Unitarian Society; Section 5.5 considers his writing in the Unitarian periodicals, the *Monthly Repository* and the *Imperial Review*; and Section 5.6 examines his published sermons.

5.2 Life and Death

Unable to obtain a full ministerial position until 1815 and without independent means, Joyce's profession as an educator and a tutor was one of the few viable methods of supporting his family. On 11 November 1799 Lindsey wrote to John Rowe the minister at Shrewsbury, informing him that Joyce had rented a house from Mr. Travers of Hackney at a 'high rent' and that he had

undertaken the education of two of Travers's sons at £50 a year. Lindsey was sorry that he had been unable to obtain a ministry for Joyce but he was sure Joyce would be able to secure 'an honourable subsistence in the great metropolis' and that he would 'attract other boys'.¹ However, Joyce soon dropped his teaching work and determined to maintain his family 'from the pen'.² For the next fifteen years he was one of relatively few writers who made a living solely from their work without the benefit of inherited family money. In January 1801 he moved to 13 Gloucester Place in Camden Town where he remained until 1808 when he moved to 4 Holly Terrace, Highgate, a property owned by the family of Sir Francis Burdett and where he died on 21 June 1816.

Joyce's economic status is difficult to estimate although having worked for Stanhope for 10 years earning at least 200 Guineas a year, he may have been able to accumulate some savings. Joyce's will, written in 1813 just prior to an operation, mentions some 'Jewels', 'plate' and a quantity of furniture including 'two eighteen inch Globes', some 'mathematical and philosophical instruments', which he directed to be passed on to his descendants, and an unspecified amount of 'money securities' due to him from the 'Equitable Insurance office'.³ Whatever the extent of Joyce's capital, it was insufficient to provide a significant inheritance and his friend J.T.Rutt, lamented to Henry Crabb Robinson that Joyce 'left a large family unprovided for'.⁴

Throughout the first decade of the nineteenth century Joyce was hard-pressed for money and it was only in the last few years of his life that he began to gain some financial success through book sales and copyright revenue. The years 1800-1814 were fairly gruelling and he had to take commissioned work from both individual publishers and publisher congers. He had to work

¹MCO, *Autograph Letters of Theophilus Lindsey*, Vol. 3, (1785-1800) No. B2.17. Lindsey to Rowe 11 Nov. 1799.

²Shepherd MSS. Vol. 10. No. 89. Letter from Helen Joyce to Hannah Ridyard (nee Joyce) Lowerstoft 1856. The letter was largely 'dictated by our mother'.

³PRO, Ref. Prob 11/1582, signed 26 Aug. 1813 and proved 15 July 1816.

⁴DWL, Henry Crabb Robinson, Diaries, June 23 1816, Vol. 5, p.194.

extremely hard especially in the years 1806-09 when he was engaged in a large number of literary enterprises. His efforts brought ill health from which he 'never fully recovered'.⁵ He had 'an attack of the Typhus fever' in 1807, and an operation in 1813 from which he expected 'the very worst issue'.⁶

For about 18 months in 1814-15 Joyce acted as mathematical tutor at Robert Aspland's Unitarian Academy in Hackney set up 'for popular rather than learned ministers'.⁷ According to Aspland, he gave up the post, 'only in consequence of his being engaged in a manner the most flattering to him, to superintend the education of the younger branches of a noble family'.⁸ Despite considerable searching, the identity of this 'noble family', has not been ascertained, but the appointment didn't take him away from home so he must have either taught the children at his house or at a place sufficiently nearby for him to return home each night.

Joyce eventually secured a ministry although not at one of the high profile meetings such as Hackney, Essex Street or Salter's Hall, but in the relatively small meeting - the Rosslyn Hill Chapel in Hampstead.⁹ Almost nothing is known about Joyce's ministry except that he succeeded Rochemont Baulbault, husband of the children's writer Mrs Barbauld (nee Aikin), and there is some evidence of the Joyce family establishing connections with the group of literary families living in the area, as Joyce's daughter Hannah is recorded in the company of the Aikins, and Hannah received numerous letters from the writer and playwright Joanna Baillie which reveal a substantial friendship.¹⁰

⁵*Imperial Dictionary*, Joyce entry.

⁶MCO, Shepherd MSS. Vol. 10. No. 89. Helen to Hannah Joyce; Aspland *Memoir*, p. 703.

⁷Gordan, p. 330.

⁸Aspland *Memoir*, p. 703.

⁹Henry Shore, *The Meeting House on Red Lion Hill and Rosslyn Chapel, Hampstead* (Priory Press, 1914), p. 32.

¹⁰Betsy Rodgers, *Georgian Chronicles* (Methuen, 1958), Letter, Susan Aikin to Catherine Aikin (nd), p. 268/9: MCO Shepherd Papers, Vol. 11, numerous letters between Hannah Joyce and Joanna Baillie.

Joyce's mother Hannah and brother Joshua died only a few months before he did and his obituary notices of them are testimony to his strong filial sentiment. To his mother Joyce credited the formation of his mind 'to the habits of usefulness, integrity and virtue', and to his brother he expressed gratitude for enabling him 'to quit mechanical employments and devote himself, under the patronage of Hugh Worthington, to those studies that are necessary qualifications for the profession of a dissenting minister'.¹¹ In reasonable health in the years before his death, Joyce returned home on the night of Friday 21 June 1816, 'complained of a stomach pain and laid down on the sofa and a few minutes later died'.¹²

Several members of the Unitarian community wrote notices of Joyce in the *Monthly Repository*. Thomas Jervis, Unitarian minister in Leeds, described Joyce as:

..ardent in temper & unsophisticated in principle. He was always solicitous to promote the spread of truth, the love of liberty and the interests of humanity.....Distinguished by his attainments in philosophy and general literature, he possessed the happy art of turning his talent to the purposes of general utility.¹³

Joyce's friend William Shepherd wrote the following lines inscribed on Joyce's headstone standing in Cheshunt Churchyard and printed in the *Monthly Repository*:

Rev. Jeremiah Joyce: 1816 aged 53 years
 Ye who in solemn contemplation tread
 These precincts sacred to the silent dead
 Pause and with reverence mark the spot where rest
 His cold remains who erst with dauntless breast
 Firm to his countries, and Freedoms cause
 Braved the dread peril of perverted laws

¹¹J. Joyce obituary notice of Hannah Joyce (died Cheshunt 9/2/1816) MR vol. 11, Mar. 1816, p. 110 & obituary notice of Joshua Joyce (died Essex St. 19/3/1816), MR, Vol. 11, June 1808, p. 244.

¹²Thomas Jervis, Obituary notice of Jeremiah Joyce, MR, vol. 11, Aug. 1816, p. 434/5.

¹³ibid.

Though bold, yet gentle, his well cultivated mind
 Glowed with a generous love for humankind
 While friendships, joys expansive and sincere
 The bliss domestic crowned each passing year
 Swift flew the bolt that sped him to the tomb.
 But check the bursting tear that mourns his doom
 The task performed to humble mortals given
 A sudden death's the easiest way to heaven.¹⁴

Henry Crabb Robinson recorded that J.T.Rutt was visibly shaken when the news of Joyce's death circulated at Robert Aspland's Hackney Meeting on the Sunday following his death.¹⁵ Rutt, Joseph Priestley's first biographer, writing in June the following year, traced his thirty-year friendship with Joyce, first meeting him at Hackney College and becoming firm friends with him as a fellow member of the SCI. Rutt lamented the paucity of biographical notices concerning Joyce and supplied one which accounted Joyce's generosity to the printer Daniel Holt imprisoned in Newgate in 1797 for printing seditious material. Rutt eulogised Joyce's 'consistency of character and conduct as a Christian, laudably engaging in the active duties of a political life'.¹⁶

It fell to Joyce's friend and editor of the *Monthly Repository*, Robert Aspland, to write the substantial memoir that appeared on the front page of the December 1816 issue. Joyce fulfilled the role of hero for Aspland who, as a boy, had been taken to see the state prisoners at the Tower in the summer of 1794. Extolling the virtues of his subject, Aspland recorded Joyce's activities in the Unitarian world, and included an account of Joyce's notorious involvement in the Treason Trials of 1794. Aspland included a substantial extract from Joyce's own record of his interrogation in before the Privy Council, which Aspland offered as testimony to the strength and quality of Joyce's character which he portrayed in heroic terms:

¹⁴Cheshunt Churchyard and MR, 11, (Oct. 1816), p. 614.

¹⁵DWL, Henry Crabb Robinson, Diaries, June 23 1816, Vol. 5, p. 194.

¹⁶MR, vol. 12, June 1817, p. 357.

Mr Joyce's conduct before the Privy council was truly admirable: the same unpretending firmness would have characterised on the scaffold, had Mr. Pitt succeeded in the scheme for his destruction.¹⁷

Aspland's memoir contains one of the few personal characterisations of Joyce and is worth quoting at length.

A remarkable plainness of appearance and straightforwardness, and perhaps bluntness of manner, which characterised Mr. Joyce, sometimes led superficial and distant observers to form an erroneous notion of his temper. On a nearer acquaintance they discovered that, under a somewhat rough exterior there lay all the amiable and virtuous dispositions which qualify a man for friendship and social and domestic happiness. In company Mr. Joyce was unobtrusive and even retiring; yet not so as to abstract himself from his companions, much less so to appear to watch their discourse: his countenance shewed that he took an interest in whatever was the subject of discourse, and he was not backward to take his share in conversation when he could communicate pertinent information, or bear testimony to what he considered to be the truth.

The ordinary state of Mr. Joyce's mind was calm and equable; but he was sometimes excited to considerable warmth of feeling, and to a corresponding strength of expression. He displayed his earnestness chiefly when exposing the misrepresentations of sophists and the calumnies of bigots. He was tolerant to all but baseness and hypocrisy.¹⁸

Aspland acknowledged Joyce's social awkwardness and his inappropriate and indignant outbursts that contrasted with periods of silence. The 'bluntness of manner' Aspland referred to, is explained by the combination of two factors. Firstly, Joyce's lack of skill in negotiating the refined

¹⁷Aspland, *Memoir*, p. 701.

¹⁸*ibid.*, p. 703.

sentiments of polite and middle class culture from which his own, relatively humble origins, alienated him; and secondly from the tradition of candour which Joyce imbibed so heavily through both his dissenting and artisan background and the metropolitan radical circles he moved in as a young man.

5.3 Unitarian world

Joyce 'did not experience that cordial reception in Unitarian congregations that he had anticipated'.¹⁹ In 1798 the influential Unitarian Theophilus Lindsey had tried to settle Joyce at Shrewsbury's Unitarian chapel, but members of the Unitarian congregation had rejected Joyce on the grounds of concern about 'that unfortunate Newgate business'.²⁰ Joyce was always to some extent alienated from the main and largely middle class, body of the Unitarian community. He was from artisan origins, he had been an enthusiastic supporter of the French Revolution and been heavily involved in the political radicalism of the early 1790s from which many Unitarians sought to distance themselves. His name very rarely appears in the private memoirs and diaries of members of the literary world connected with Unitarians. This omission is surprising given the considerable publishing and social links Joyce shared with the Aikins, Henry Crabb Robinson, and many of the group surrounding Charles Lamb and the romantic poets. The literary snobbery which informed many literary judgements were particularly poignant when applied to books aimed at children over whom the middle and upper classes assumed a sense of moral guardianship. In some circles the popular works Joyce produced were considered a low form of literature and categorised as merely didactic. The disdain that many literary intellectuals felt for instructional works was due to the lack of literary characterisation in such books, and the central role which science and factual information played in them. The nominal Unitarian Charles Lamb's famous comment to Samuel

¹⁹Aspland, *Memoir*, p. 702.

²⁰John Rylands Library, University of Manchester, *Manuscript Letters of Theophilus Lindsey*, Lindsey to John Rowe, 10 Feb. 1798.

Taylor Coleridge criticised the kind of factual and instructional reading represented by Mrs Baulbauld's *Evenings at Home* (1792-6) which Joyce took as his starting point for the *Scientific Dialogues*:

Science has succeeded to poetry no less in the little walks of children than with men. Is there no possibility of averting this sore evil? Think what you would have been now, if instead of being fed with tales and old wives fables in childhood you had been crammed with geography and natural history?. Damn them - I mean the cursed Baulbauld crew, those Blights and Blasts of all that is human in man and child.²¹

Lamb's comment rings with the romantic sentiment that elevated the imagination as the natural source and means of valuable learning. From such a perspective Joyce's trade in writing instructional books was considered as a low form of literary activity and served to distance him from Unitarians whose social credentials engaged them in the world of polite society.

On another level however, Joyce's eighteenth century intellectual inheritance began to alienate him from the overall direction of Unitarianism. John Seed's comment that the years following the French Revolution saw a watershed in British social history and a restructuring of the intellectual climate which, in Unitarian circles, was manifest in the shift from 'the radical and vigorous rationalism of Priestley' to 'the pious utilitarianism of Belsham', is well observed.²² Joyce became alienated from this movement amongst Unitarians as he retained much of the rational programme of Price and Priestley, and his intellectual disposition was secured steadfastly in an eighteenth century dissenting mindset which demanded political justice and emphasised candour to the point of brutal honesty. By the end of the eighteenth century rational dissent was beginning to lose its

²¹E.V.Lucas, *The Letters of Charles & Mary Lamb*, vol. 1 (Dent, 1935), p. 326. John Aikin & Anna Letitia Barbauld, *Evenings at Home ; or the Juvenile Budget Opened, Consisting of a Variety of Miscellaneous Pieces for the Instruction and Amusement of Youth* (Johnson, 1792-6)

²²Seed, 'Vissicitudes', p. 97.

coherence as a radical pressure group and candour was the only remaining feature of Unitarian political aspiration.²³ Joyce's thinking retained this strong and obsolete sense of candour which by the mid 1790s became less acceptable to the refined and middle class intellectualism of Thomas Belsham. As British society responded to the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars, Joyce's intellectual and theological disposition, which reflected older dissenting traditions, failed to find comfortable lodgings in emerging nineteenth century Unitarianism. John Seed's picture of Joyce as subject to the vicissitudes of the radical intelligentsia is also well observed.²⁴ In the early part of Joyce's life through the 1780s and early 1790s he was accommodated, even celebrated, within an intellectual climate that permitted links between well-heeled radical intellectuals and aspiring artisans. His notoriety as an 'acquitted felon' however, touched delicate memories within the middle class Unitarian mindset and invited negative judgements about him.

The thread connecting the ideas of Priestley and Belsham and serves also to locate Joyce, is nicely articulated by R.K. Webb in his description of 'rational piety'.²⁵ This was precisely the description of Joyce used by Robert Aspland who said of Joyce that 'His character may be summed up in a few words: probity, industry, simplicity, fortitude, benevolence and rational piety'.²⁶ All Joyce's works are founded on the presupposition of the rationality and intelligibility of God's plan, and the possibility of a reason based explanation for physical and mental phenomenon. At the same time his engagement with the social world was conducted according to the values of Christian piety. From a Unitarian perspective the combination of rationality and piety in an individual is not, however, a combination of two distinct elements with rationality leading to a scientific world view, and piety leading to Christian morality. Rather, the pursuit and explication

²³Alan Saunders 'The state as highwayman: from candour to rights', in Haakonssen, pp. 241-271, (p.247)

²⁴Seed, 'Vicissitudes', title.

²⁵R.K.Webb, 'Rational Piety' in Haakonssen.

²⁶Aspland, Memoir, p. 703.

of science was considered a pious act, and piety was to be achieved through scientific pursuits. The two elements of rationality and piety were fused together to form both a scientific and a religious engagement with the world.

Rational piety is strongly linked to the educational emphasis in the accolade 'practical preacher', which was the highest praise that could be given to a dissenting minister. Such a minister would be notable for delivering sermons that led the congregation to a wide range of reflections on living a Christian life.²⁷ Joyce used this accolade to describe the Rev. Hugh Worthington whose sermons he praised as 'uniformly practical'.²⁸ The figure of the practical preacher in Unitarian terms, was created from a blend of pious engagement with God's world, and utility in the service of one's fellow human beings and society as a whole. In the figure of the practical preacher, education provided the link between pious engagement and personal service and was pivotal in the chain of ideas which built the vision of rational dissent. Unable to take a position as a full-time minister, Joyce's work in publishing and Unitarian projects, exemplified the combination of rationality as the claimed basis for understanding the world, and piety as the proper form of engagement with life through his role as a science educator.

In Joyce's memoir of Worthington, Joyce saw himself as emulating Worthington in 'guiding the steps of the young into the temple of knowledge' and thought of himself as labouring in the cause of virtue and the promotion of true knowledge.²⁹ This memoir also contains the following revealing passage in which Joyce is talking about himself as one of Worthington's prodigies:

If a train of circumstances which, after all, he has no reason to regret or be ashamed of, has deprived him of what he long esteemed, and still regards, as one of the most important and useful stations in life, that of a public teacher of the Christian religion, he cannot

²⁷Webb, p. 299.

²⁸J. Joyce, *Memoir of Worthington*, p. 573.

²⁹*ibid.*, p. 576.

reproach himself with any great share of inactivity: if denied the opportunity of labouring in the cause of virtue and the promotion of true knowledge, on the first day of the week, he is teaching by his works, humble as they are, not a few on the other six.³⁰

Written in 1813 after 13 years as a science writer, Joyce lamented that he had not obtained a ministership but he clearly saw his Christian ministry as extending beyond the pulpit to his work in the world of science education.

5.3 Secretary of the Unitarian Society

Joyce was a tireless worker for the Unitarian Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge and Virtue through the Distribution of Books, and he attended the first meetings of the Society in 1791. (Figure 14). Joyce was on the 1792 committee which met at the shop of the Unitarian publisher Joseph Johnson and which ordered copies of various titles to be revised, corrected and placed on their catalogue.³¹ His name disappears from the Minutes of the Unitarian Society after 1792 and until April 1802. In that year he became a committee member and took over the office of Secretary from John Kentish. From 1802 the minute book is largely in Joyce's handwriting with brief exceptions which correspond to periods in which Joyce was ill and which show Joyce's annotations in the margins. In 1804 the Society made him a life member and as the central contact point both for the individual members of the Unitarian society and for regional Unitarian societies, he managed a considerable distributive network.

In large measure the propaganda of rational dissent was promulgated through the Essex Street Chapel.³² Through Joyce, Lindsey and Disney, the Chapel had strong links to the Unitarian Society which was 'committed to vigorous dissemination of Unitarian propaganda' and 'produced a stream

³⁰ibid.

³¹Essex St Unitarian Headquarters, Private Archive, Unitarian Society Minute Books, 1792.

³²Ditchfield, p. 253.

RULES
 OF THE
 UNITARIAN SOCIETY,
 FOR PROMOTING
 CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE
 AND THE
 PRACTICE OF VIRTUE,¹

BY DISTRIBUTING SUCH BOOKS AS APPEAR TO THE
 MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY TO CONTAIN THE
 MOST RATIONAL VIEWS OF THE GOSPEL;
 AND TO BE MOST FREE FROM THE
 ERRORS BY WHICH IT HAS
 LONG BEEN SULLIED
 AND OBSCURED.

INSTITUTED MDCCXCI.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED
 A LIST OF THE MEMBERS, AND A CATALOGUE OF BOOKS
 DISTRIBUTED BY THE SOCIETY.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY RICHARD AND ARTHUR TAYLOR SHOELANDERS.

1818.

Figure 14. Rules of the Unitarian Society. 1818 edition. The titles and designation of the Society is exactly the same as the earlier versions. The best copies of these can be found in the archives of Manchester College Oxford.

of literature to the provinces'.³³ From 1791 to 1804 the Unitarian Society spent £2555 on printing and distributing books.³⁴ They produced thirteen duodecimo volumes entitled 'Unitarian Tracts' which included works by the leading lights of the Unitarian movement - Joseph Priestley, Theophilus Lindsey, Thomas Belsham, William Frend, and John Disney, - and also included writings which Unitarians claimed as consistent with their position - Richard Price, Dr. Lardner and Hugh Farmer. The list expanded during the 1790s to embrace books aimed at children and included Mrs. Barbauld's *Hymns for Children* (1st ed., 1781), *Practical Instruction for Youth* [Anon] (1st ed., 1796), and Watts' *Hymns* (1st ed., 1758). The Society minutes record print runs of 3000 of each title. The stocks were first held at the Society's room at no 89 Chancery lane and then moved to Dean Street in 1803. On 13 May 1802 Joyce was requested to prepare Mason's *Self Knowledge* (1st ed., 1789), for publication and circulation and he reported to the quarterly meeting of the Society on 27 October, held in the New London Tavern, Cheapside, that 2000 had been printed and were to be sold at 1s 3d in boards.³⁵

Joyce threw himself into the Society's work. By June that year he had taken an inventory of the stock and at the quarterly meeting was requested to review, with John Kentish, the rules of the society. They subsequently introduced the rule that for a book to be entered onto the Society's catalogue it had to be supported by three members. Joyce was instrumental in producing the second edition of the Society's *Tracts* (1805) which carry advertisements he signed, and new additions to the catalogue including his own *Analysis of Dr. Paley's Natural Theology* (1804).³⁶ Joyce arranged the sale and distribution of individual copies to members but also bulk sales to the publishers

³³ibid., p. 264.

³⁴Robert Brooke Aspland, *Memoir of the life, works and Correspondence of Robert Aspland* (Whitfield, 1850), p. 186.

³⁵Mason's *Self Knowledge. A Treatise Shewing the Nature and Benefit of that Important Science and the Way to Obtain it* (1st ed., 1745)

³⁶The best UK. collection of different bindings and editions of these Tracts are to be found in the archives of Manchester College Oxford.

Joseph Johnson and William Vidler with whom he negotiated levels of commission. In January 1804 the Society awarded Joyce 10 guineas and made him a life member for 'his attention and assiduity in the duties of his office'.³⁷ Joyce began to receive a small but regular income from the Unitarian Society. In June 1804 he was asked to edit Mason's *Self Knowledge* (1745), Farmer's *Essays on Demoniacs of the New Testament* (1775), and the anonymous *Practical Instructions for Youth* (1796) and at the quarterly meeting of January the following year, he was given a salary of 20 guineas a year backdated to 1804 'for his services'.³⁸

Joyce was present at regular monthly meetings at the Dean Street Room with Thomas Belsham and Robert Aspland who were the new generation of leaders of the Unitarian community. He clearly held the trust of the Society which allowed him to use the room for teaching some of the students at Aspland's new academy and 'to assist in the instruction of Geometry to young men in his charge' with the full support of the Society.³⁹ Joyce resigned the office of Secretary on 29 March 1816 and when his account books were examined the new secretary and Joyce's friend, the Rev. Thomas Rees and a committee, they reported that the accounts were satisfactory and that they could not 'close their report of the examination of Mr. Joyce's account without expressing the high sense they entertain of the value of his long service of this society'.⁴⁰

On 11 April 1806 the Unitarian minute books record the setting up of a committee to plan the production of a new version of the New Testament. (Figure 15). Joyce was on the committee which included Thomas Belsham, J.T.Rutt and 5 other Unitarian London Ministers. Belsham is reported to have been happy to accept the Archbishop of Armagh's (John Newcome), version but

³⁷U.Soc. Minute Books 1804. Jan 12.

³⁸ibid. 1805. Jan 10. Hugh Farmer, *Essay on Demoniacs of the New Testament*(1st ed., 1775),

³⁹U.Soc Minutes July 30th 1813.

⁴⁰U.Soc Minutes Feb. 13 1817. Sp. General Meeting.

THE
NEW TESTAMENT,
 IN
 AN IMPROVED VERSION,
 UPON THE BASIS OF
 ARCHBISHOP NEWCOME'S NEW TRANSLATION:
 WITH
 A CORRECTED TEXT,
 AND
 NOTES CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY.

PUBLISHED BY A SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE AND
 THE PRACTICE OF VIRTUE, BY THE DISTRIBUTION OF BOOKS.

No offence can justly be taken for this new labour; nothing prejudicing
 any other man's judgement by this doing; nor yet professing this so absolute
 a translation, as that hereafter might follow no other who might see that
 which as yet was not understood.

Archbishop Parker's Preface to the Bishops' Bible.

London:

Printed by Richard Taylor and Co. Shoe Lane.

SOLD BY J. JOHNSON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD; AND LONGMAN, HURST,
 REES, AND ORME, PATERNOSTER ROW.

1808.

Figure 15. Title page. Unitarian Version of the *New Testament*. 1808.

was overruled by the committee who insisted on revising it.⁴¹ The five reports of the committee were written up and signed by Joyce and were later published in the *Monthly Repository*.⁴²

Since the Society's inception in 1791, the Unitarian Society had intended to publish a new translation of the New Testament in line with the tenets of Unitarian theology and biblical criticism.⁴³ It had been hoped that Gilbert Wakefield's translation from the Greek would have been available, but due to Wakefield's involvement with a bookseller this became impossible. Consequently the committee decided to use Newcome's English translation as the basis for the new version and 'keep an eye to Mr. Wakefield's Translation'.⁴⁴ They determined to omit Newcome's notes in order to keep the new version 'as cheap as possible' and alter the text only where Newcome's judgement was 'misled'.⁴⁵ The original plan of how the new version would be constructed is laid out in Joyce's first report circulated to all members of the Unitarian Society:

In order to facilitate the object of the society, it is proposed to add to the present committee for preparing the improved version, all the Ministers who are members of the Unitarian Society, requesting them to send any remarks or improvements which may occur to them, addressed to the Secretary of the Unitarian Society [Joyce] before Christmas.⁴⁶

The intention was therefore to create a Unitarian version from the views of the Unitarian community at large. This initiative reveals both a democratic concern to include all members but also, at a practical level, a concern to spread the labour and reduce the amount of work required by

⁴¹Alexander Gordon, *Addresses Biographical and Historical* (Lindsey Press, 1922), p. 304.

⁴²*Monthly Repository*, Jan., Feb., Mar., Dec., 1807 & Feb. 1808. A copy of this new edition held by the DWL, has copies of all these reports plus all the copies of the circular letters and the subscription lists to the project, all written and addressed by Joyce and bound at the back - *The New Testament an Improved Version* (London: A Society promoting Christian Knowledge and the practice of virtue, by the distribution of Books, 1808). Cat. No. 2016.D.23.

⁴³1st report. 3 July 1806.

⁴⁴ibid.

⁴⁵ibid.

⁴⁶ibid.

the London committee. In the event the minute books reveal that only three people did the greatest amount of work - Joyce, Belsham and John Hinckley, about whom very little is known. In the fifth report of the committee of 20 April 1808, after the project was complete and the copy was 'in the printers hands', Joyce reported:

The committee has to regret, that they have not experienced all the assistance, from persons who are skilled in sacred literature, with which they flattered themselves at the outset of their labours; and which had it been communicated, would have contributed greatly to the improvement of the work.

Joyce was the organising force behind the project. He produced the published reports and circulated them among the Unitarian community and received any written contributions. He also received many of the subscriptions which he forwarded to the Society's treasurer Ebenezer Johnson. (Figure 16). However, it is not possible to ascertain which sections of the text were Joyce's responsibility. Belsham has been credited with 'the admirable introduction and most of the notes', and this is likely given his high standing in the Unitarian community and his reputation as a biblical scholar.⁴⁷ However, as a compiler of Encyclopaedias and writer of textbooks, Joyce possessed expertise in the compilation of contributions from a range of sources, and given that he was the person to whom such views were directed, it is likely that he had a major hand in constructing the text.

The project was not particularly successful in terms of sales or reprints. It also brought a considerable amount of negative press and the new version was not well received and was subsequently used to reproach Unitarians.⁴⁸ The Archdeacon of Sarum Charles Daubeney, was amongst many who objected strongly to the new version and sought to show that 'The Unitarian

⁴⁷Gordon, p.304.

⁴⁸Gordon, p.304.

God of Reason and the Christian God of Revelation cannot both stand on the ground of the same divine word'.⁴⁹ Daubeney equated Unitarianism with Mahometism and claimed that Unitarians had 'perverted scripture' which they had 'wrested and tortured for the purpose of making them speak the Unitarian language'.⁵⁰

The project was also unsuccessful as it failed to produce a version that represented Unitarian views. Rather than being a Unitarian version of the New Testament, the end result displayed controversy over biblical interpretation. Figure 17 shows the theological dilemmas over the crucial opening passages of St. John's Gospel and presents only a few lines of text and a much longer dense commentary and interpretation. This pattern continues for the following 6 pages and the Unitarian version of the passage written by the founder of English Unitarianism Theophilus Lindsey, appears in the footnotes of the fifth page of the section. Lindsey's alternative version which starts 'In the beginning there was Wisdom, and the Wisdom was with God and God was Wisdom', was a 'sense of the passage approved by Dr. Lardner, Dr Priestley, Mr Wakefield and others'.⁵¹ That the Unitarian interpretation of such an important passage which was sanctioned by the most important Unitarian luminaries, was relegated to the footnotes, shows the nervousness the committee felt in publishing its radical theology. An example of the kind of version some Unitarians would have liked is seen in William Tooke's annotations to the new version, which reflect a form of purist Unitarianism that has Lindsey's version written in and was offered in order to help guide any further translations.⁵²

⁴⁹Rev. Charles Daubeney, *Some Remarks on the Unitarian Method of Interpreting the Scriptures*, (Rivington, 1815), p. 8.

⁵⁰*ibid*

⁵¹*New Testament*, 1808, p. 203.

⁵²*ibid*. Tookes own copy. DWL Cat No 565.D.26. Opening page inset note.

THE
G O S P E L
ACCORDING TO
ST. J O H N.

C H A P. I.

1 THE Word * was in the beginning †, and the Word
2 was with God ‡, and the word was a god §. This Word

* *The Word.*] "Jesus is so called because God revealed himself or his word by him." Newcome. The same title is given to Christ, Luke i. 2. For the same reason he is called the Word of life, 1 John i. 1. which passage is so clear and useful a comment upon the proem to the gospel, that it may be proper to cite the whole of it. "That which was *from the beginning*, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have *looked upon*, and our hands have handled of *the Word of life*, for *the Life* was manifested, and we have seen it, and bear witness, and show unto you, that eternal Life which was *with the Father*, and was manifested unto us, that which we have seen and heard declare we unto you." By a similar metonymy Christ is called the Life, the Light, the Way, the Truth, and the Resurrection. See Cappe's Dissert. vol. i. p. 19.

† *in the beginning.*] Or, from the first, i. e. from the commencement of the gospel dispensation, or of the ministry of Christ. This is the usual sense of the word in the writings of this evangelist. John vi. 64, Jesus knew from the beginning, or from the first; ch. xv. 27, Ye have been with me from the beginning. See ch. xvi. 14; ii. 24; iii. 11; also 1 John i. 1; ii. 7, 8; 2 John 6, 7. Nor is this sense of the word uncommon in other passages of the New Testament. 2 Thess. ii. 13; Phil. iv. 15; Luke i. 2.

‡ *the Word was with God.*] He withdrew from the world to commune with God, and to receive divine instructions and qualifications previously to his public ministry. As Moses was with God in the mount, Exod. xxxiv. 28, so was Christ in the wilderness, or elsewhere, to be instructed and disciplined for his high and important office. See Cappe, *ibid.* p. 22.

§ *and the Word was a god.*] was God, Newcome. Jesus received a commission as a prophet of the Most High, and was invested with extraordinary miraculous powers. But in the Jewish phraseology they were called gods to whom the word of God came. John x. 35. So Moses is declared to be a god to Pharaoh. Exod. vii. 1. Some translate the passage, God was the Word, q. d. it was not so properly he that spake to men, as God that spake to them by him. Cappe, *ibid.* See John x. 30, compared with xvii. 8, 11, 16; iii. 34; v. 21; xii. 44. Crullius conjectured that the true reading was *Θεὸς*, the Word was God's, q. d. the first teacher of the gospel derived his commission from God. But this conjecture, however plausible, rests upon no authority.

Figure 17. Extract from the Unitarian Version of the *New Testament* 1808. Opening page of St.

Johns Gospel.

The committee used the technique of italicising sections of the text which they felt 'had doubtful authority'.⁵³ This technique was the focus of Alexander Gordon's judgement that the new version's 'endeavour to exhibit typographically distinct strata in the Gospels, if a crude initial effort, was nevertheless a suggestive beginning'.⁵⁴ Gordon sought to salvage some merit in the work in terms of a contribution to biblical study, and avoids recognition of the failure of the work to realise the Society's original intention to promote Unitarian theology. The issue of whether to provide a properly Unitarian version had been discussed in Unitarian circles and Joyce's third report of the committee of 23 April 1807, reveals how the committee dismissed such a radical project on practical grounds.

The difficulty and delay attending a version completely new, which some seem to desire, would be very great. Few are qualified, fewer still would have been willing, to undertake the task. And, after all it would have been open to as many cavils, and possibly to as many solid objections as that of the learned prelate.⁵⁵

The difficulty of the task and the considerable theological dilemmas that the committee encountered in producing a version that would effectively represent the theology of the Unitarian community, are revealed in the committee's admission that they left Newcombe's version 'even where in their own judgement it might have been altered to advantage, knowing how difficult it is in many cases to give a translation which shall be universally satisfactory'.⁵⁶ It would seem that the committee had not envisaged the difficulties of the project and the sensitivity of the issues prior to actually doing the work.

⁵³*New testament*, p. 2 fn.

⁵⁴Gordon, p. 304.

⁵⁵Printed in MR., Dec., 1807.

⁵⁶Second edition of the fourth report January 29th 1808

A subscription was drawn up to which 1200 contributions were made mostly from individuals but also from various Unitarian societies. (Figure 17). Large contributions were made from the Duke of Grafton who gave 50 guineas, and the London Unitarian Society who gave £100. John Disney and other wealthy Unitarians gave £10 or £20 but most gave a guinea for which they received either 2 octavo volumes or 4 duodecimo volumes. A small pocket edition (18mo) was produced without explanatory notes and sold to members at one guinea for seven copies. As individual subscribers received more than one copy the intention was, presumably, that the excess copies should be extended to other readers or given as gifts, probably to family members.

The production of the new version involved Joyce in an enormous amount of work and brought him into contact with most of the Unitarian community. He gained a position of sufficient respect amongst the Unitarian community to enable him to summon a special meeting of the Society at the Essex Street Chapel on July 30 1813 'to discuss the 1813 Act of Relief of persons who impugn the doctrine of the trinity'. The Act was a major landmark in the extension of rights to dissenters and at the meeting tribute was paid to the MP William Smith, who had steered the Bill through parliament and was a regular attender at Essex Street Chapel and often took the Chair at the Quarterly meetings of the Unitarian Society. It was Smith who as the leader of the Committee of the Protestant dissenting deputies in 1814, achieved full membership of the committee for Essex Street Unitarians. This Committee had formerly only recognised orthodox dissenters as members although it substantially reflected the grievances and demands of Unitarians.⁵⁷

⁵⁷Richard W.Davis, *Dissent in Politics 1780-1830* (Epworth, 1971), p. 199.

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS FOR AN IMPROVED VERSION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

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Adams, Gideon, Esq.	2	2	0	Carter, Mrs.	8	2	0	Freeman, Mrs.	3	3	0	Jackson, Mr. W.	1	1	0
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Alexander, Mr.	13	15	0	Chiche, Mr. Jos.	1	1	0	Gibson, T. Esq.	3	3	0	Dr. for a Friend	1	1	0
Allee, J. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Clarke, R. Hall, Esq.	1	1	0	Gidley, Mr.	1	1	0	Johnson, Jm. Esq.	10	0	0
Anonymous, by Mrs. Lindsey	1	1	0	Carter, Rev. J.	1	1	0	Gifford, Mr. G.	1	1	0	Johnson, Jm. Esq.	1	1	0
Anstis, Rev. M.	1	1	0	Castle, Thos. Esq.	3	3	0	Giles, Mr.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Archer, Mr. W.	1	1	0	Colb, J. Esq.	2	2	0	Gill, Mr.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Aspinall, Rev. R.	2	2	0	Collier, Mr. T.	2	2	0	Gladstone, Mr. J.	2	2	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Astley, Rev. T.	1	1	0	Commons, Mr. J.	2	2	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Atchison, Mr.	1	1	0	Compton, Mr.	2	2	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
A. Z. by Mrs. Lindsey	2	2	0	Cook, Mr. G.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Baker, Mr.	1	1	0	Cooke, Thos. Esq.	2	2	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Barbald, Rev. R.	1	1	0	Cooke, Wm. Esq.	2	2	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Barnham, J. F. Esq.	1	1	0	Cooke, Mr. Wm.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Barker, Mr.	1	1	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Barnard, Mr.	1	1	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Barnet, Mr.	1	1	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Barham, Mr.	1	1	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Barton, S. Esq.	1	1	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Barton, Mr. S. Jun.	2	2	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Barton, J. Esq.	1	1	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Barton, Mr. B.	1	1	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Barford, Mr.	1	1	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Basnett, Mr.	2	2	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Bayley, Dr.	4	4	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Bayley, R. Esq.	1	1	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Beale, Mr.	1	1	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Beall, Mr. Ed.	1	1	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Beauford, Mr. W.	1	1	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Becher, Mr.	1	1	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Beisham, Rev. T.	15	15	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Bennet, —, Esq.	1	1	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Bent, Mrs.	1	1	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Benton, Mrs.	1	1	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Beyron, (S. Y.) Esq.	3	3	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Bewington, Mr. Timothy	1	1	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Black, Mr.	1	1	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Blackbird, Mr. R.	1	1	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Blackmore, J. Esq.	1	1	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Black, Rev. Wm.	1	1	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Blackway, Mr.	1	1	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Blackman, Mr. T.	1	1	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Bowring, Mr. W.	1	1	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Boys, Mr. John	1	1	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Brent, Mr.	2	2	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Brent, Mr.	1	1	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Bretland, Rev. J.	2	2	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Briggs, Mr.	1	1	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Briggs, Mr. C.	1	1	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Bright, R. Esq.	1	1	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Bradbant, Rev. W.	2	2	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Brdhurst, Mrs.	2	2	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Brookes, Mr. Joshua	1	1	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
A Friend, by ditto	1	1	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Brooke, Mr. W.	1	1	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Brooks, Miss S.	1	1	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Brown, Mr. J.	1	1	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Brown, Tim. Esq.	6	6	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Brown, Mr.	1	1	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Brown, Mr.	2	2	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Brown, Mr.	1	1	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Brown, Rev. J.	1	1	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Brown, Mr. J. D.	1	1	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Brownhill, Mr.	1	1	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Brues, —, Esq.	1	1	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Brumell and Robson	1	1	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Buil, Rev. J.	3	3	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Buncombe, Mr. John	1	1	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Burg, Mr. John	1	1	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Burt, Mr. W.	1	1	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Cape, Mrs.	1	1	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Carpenter, Rev. Dr.	4	4	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Carter, Sir John	3	3	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0
Carter, James, Esq.	2	2	0	Cooke, Mr.	1	1	0	Gladstone, Mr. W. Esq.	1	1	0	Johnson, John Esq.	1	1	0

Figure 18. List of Subscribers to the Unitarian version of the *New Testament*. 1808.

It was Smith who inspired *A Sketch of the History and Proceedings of the Deputies appointed to protect the civil rights of Protestant Dissenters* (1813).⁵⁸ (Figure 19). In 1811, the committee commissioned Joyce to compile it.⁵⁹ Connected to Smith and having steered the new Unitarian version of the New Testament to completion and having established a reputation as a compiler of encyclopaedias (discussed in chapter 6), Joyce was an obvious choice and the *Sketch* is typical of Joyce's literary work and style which built a text from a number of sources. Joyce built the *Sketch* from the minutes of the Committee, from previous abstracts from the minutes and from previous committee statements, and produced a chronicle of the defence of dissenters over an eighty-year period beginning in 1732.⁶⁰ The work is a form of mild dissenting propaganda and served as a practical reminder of the disadvantages under which Dissenters lived and of the value of combined action.⁶¹ Yet Joyce is not credited for the work on the title page or throughout the book, and the omission of his name probably indicates the concern to distance respectable dissenters from political radicalism through the associations of Joyce's past.

Joyce won the respect of some Unitarians by his efforts to develop Unitarianism through the original intention of the Society - to promote Christian knowledge through gradual extension of understanding resulting from the distribution of books. Joyce's last published sermon in 1816 (discussed below), was dedicated to the Unitarian Society which he saw as concerned to spread rational religion and develop the condition of mankind. He listed the authors of works that the Society felt illustrated the 'foundation of their holy religion' as 'a Locke, a Hartley, a Paley, a

⁵⁸*A Sketch of the History and Proceedings of the Deputies Appointed to Protect the Civil Rights of the Protestant Dissenters to which is added a Summary of the Laws Affecting Protestant Dissenters* (Samuel Burton, 1813).

⁵⁹Bernard Lord Manning, *The Protestant Dissenting Deputies* (Cambridge University Press, 1952), p. 14.

⁶⁰*ibid*

⁶¹*ibid.*, p. 15.

A
SKETCH
 OF
 THE HISTORY AND PROCEEDINGS
 OF THE
DEPUTIES
 APPOINTED TO PROTECT
THE CIVIL RIGHTS
 OF THE
Protestant Dissenters,
 IN WHICH IS ANNEXED
A SUMMARY OF THE LAWS
 AFFECTING
PROTESTANT DISSENTERS.
 WITH
 AN APPENDIX
 OF
 STATUTES AND PRECEDENTS OF LEGAL INSTRUMENTS.

LONDON:
 PRINTED FOR SAMUEL BURTON, 156, LEADENHALL STREET.
 1813.

Figure 19. Title page. *A Sketch of the History and Proceedings of the Deputies ...* (Samuel Burton, 1813).

Priestley....'.⁶² The list reflects the co-ordinates of Joyce's Unitarian thinking - a metaphysics of understanding from Locke, a mechanism of learning from Hartley, a natural theology from Paley and scientific experimentalism and biblical criticism from Priestley.

5.5 Writing in the *Monthly Repository* and editing the *Imperial Review*

Under the editorship of Robert Aspland, the *Monthly Repository* was a mainly literary and religious periodical which did not pay its contributors.⁶³ Joyce could not afford the time to write many unpaid contributions, but a significant number of entries did carry Joyce's name. He wrote obituary notices of the radical Unitarian publisher, Joseph Johnson and the transported Thomas Palmer, an extensive memoir of the Arian preacher Hugh Worthington, all the reports of the committee to produce a new version of the New Testament in the section entitled 'Religion, Literary and politico-religious Intelligence', many reports and notices of the meetings and dinners of the Unitarian Society, as well as a substantial 13 essay series on Natural Theology and several other short notices.

Using the pseudonyms A.B. and A.L. Joyce also contributed a large number of largely biographical notices recording the deaths of, and responding to queries concerning, various Unitarians and General Baptists, many of whom were members of the thriving General Baptist (at that time largely Unitarian), meetings in Ditchling, Sussex, where Joyce have given sermons, and Lewes, also in Sussex.⁶⁴ Joyce's contributions as A.B. were not solely obituary notices and he made several contributions to the Biblical Criticism section and gave notices of books. He gave a notice of anonymous work, entitled 'Liberty and Necessity' and signed 'a Necissitarian Deist' which he

⁶²J. Joyce, *A Discourse*, (For the Author, 1816), p. 26.

⁶³Francis E. Mineka, *The Dissidence of Dissent* (University of North Carolina Press, 1944), p. 111 & p. 127

⁶⁴The source for Joyce's pseudonyms in the *Monthly Repository* is Robert Brooke Aspland p.192fn: Joyce gave a Sermon at Ditchling Sept. 19th 1808 - MR, 3, p. 651/2.

attributed to William Corry.⁶⁵ This is one of the few places where Joyce reveals his views over the doctrine of philosophical necessity – a subject of intense debate in the pages of the *Monthly Repository*. Corry had supported the deist Anthony Collins against the criticisms of Samuel Clarke from whom Joyce and many Unitarians claimed much of their theological heritage. Joyce thought that Corry's version of the doctrine of Necessity was 'incompatible with Christianity', 'profane', led to 'mischievous consequences' and denied the possibility of an 'after-life'. Yet Joyce also thought Corry's book was 'not without cleverness'.⁶⁶

One of the few occasions when Joyce was given a highly visible and respectable place in the Unitarian world was when he contributed a substantial series of essays on natural theology commencing January 1815. The series was aimed at both 'young persons' and 'those further advanced in life who perhaps may from circumstances not necessary to be enumerated, have hitherto paid little or almost no attention to the wisdom and contrivance displayed in the works of the almighty'.⁶⁷

The series opens with an anticipatory defence of natural theology through presenting the argument against natural theology that 'the great disadvantage of the subject is its extreme simplicity and the vast multiplicity of obvious and decisive evidences that may be found for its illustration'.⁶⁸ Joyce recognised that both the banal simplicity and ubiquitous application of the design argument might weigh against its acceptance. He mounted a fairly sophisticated defence that avoided taking on the arguments of David Hume directly and was formulated on three grounds. Firstly, that anybody who deploys reason cannot 'possibly doubt that there are abundant marks of design in the universe'; secondly that the ancient sceptics 'had nothing to set up against a designing

⁶⁵I have been unable to locate this work.

⁶⁶MR, Jan 1808, 3, p. 12.

⁶⁷MR, 11, Mar 1815, p.35.

⁶⁸ibid., p. 35/6.

deity but the doctrine of chance and the combination of a chaos of atoms in endless motion' which Joyce debunked as ridiculous and easily refuted by other ancients who 'could appeal to the order and symmetry that pervaded the whole of nature'; and thirdly, by reference to the works of James Beattie (1735-1803) former professor of moral philosophy at Aberdeen who developed the argument of the irrationality of the idea of society being 'produced by the accidental blowing of winds and rolling of sands'.⁶⁹ Joyce's defence was typical of the position of natural theologians – the sheer weight of evidence of design and the ridiculousness of any contrary view meant that any other explanation ran counter to common sense.

Joyce used the literary strategy that he used in many of his writings and counterpoised both the sense of immense and infinite space of the universe, and the minutiae of anatomy, as combined evidence of the deity. He constantly combined and merged images of the precision arrangement of planetary orbitals with 'the intelligence and variety and delicacy of animal mechanism'.⁷⁰ Tracing natural theology from Cicero and Galen, Joyce outlined the lineage of ideas through 'a Ray, a Derham and a Paley'.⁷¹ The effect of the study of natural theology, he argued, was to produce 'a feeling of pious and almost enthusiastic glory of gratitude towards its author and supporter'.⁷² Joyce's Unitarian vision and inculcation of piety was twinned with his educational gradualist goal of the diffusion of knowledge, which presented knowledge within a pedagogic formula:

..at the head of each article [the series of essays to follow], to give a brief, but accurate and scientific description of the subject to be discussed. By this method of procedure, we trust, that while we are inculcating the principles of piety, we shall, at the same time be diffusing amongst our youthful readers, a certain portion of natural knowledge with which, in this

⁶⁹ibid., p. 36.

⁷⁰ibid., p. 36.

⁷¹ibid.

⁷²ibid., p. 37.

enlightened period, no person claiming the advantages of education, should be
unacquainted.⁷³

The series of lectures examined the five senses. When describing the eye, he discusses its anatomy, and the optical mechanisms of vision which he described as designed to suit the physics of optics in different environmental conditions. The opening and closing of the eyelids to permit varying levels of light is 'an admirable provision for those animals, as the cat, squirrel &c that have occasion to waylay their prey both by day and night'.⁷⁴ In essay four the emphasis is on how the eye 'surpasses the contrivances of art in the complexity, subtlety, and curiosity of the mechanism', but examines the telescope as one of 'the most perfect productions of human ingenuity' and characterises both the eye and the telescope as 'instruments'.⁷⁵ Using a fairly standard suite of rhetorical, persuasive and polemical devices Joyce appealed directly to the testimony of Nature and undermined any alternative explanation. His argument was conducted in the same way that a lawyer might prosecute an imagined atheist.⁷⁶

Essays five and six concern the senses of smell, taste, hearing and feeling. Essays seven, eight and nine were concerned with 'the mechanical arrangement of the human body' with essay eight considering 'the trunk' and essay nine 'the superior and inferior extremities', and dedicated 'to show how the systems of the human body fall into the most compact and convenient form'.⁷⁷ In yet another proof of design Joyce compares the human frame with a man-made machine.

If the animal structure be contemplated in this light, and compared with any other machine
in which human art has exerted its utmost skill, it will be evident that intelligence and

⁷³ibid., April 1815, p. 101.

⁷⁴ibid., May 1815, p. 162.

⁷⁵ibid., June 1815, p. 234.

⁷⁶John Brooke & Geoffrey Cantor, *Reconstructing Nature* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1998) , p. 182.

⁷⁷MR, XI, Sept. 1815, p. 433.

power have been exerted in its formation surpassing anything to which human wisdom can pretend.⁷⁸

Essay ten considers the 'posture of the human body: the muscles' but essay eleven appears not to have been printed. Essay twelve printed in January 1816 is on 'the Brain and the nerves' and Essay thirteen printed in April 1816 is entitled 'Of the face, Complexion and speech. Joyce's text moves very quickly from discussing the minutiae of anatomy, to social and political subjects that he tried to encompass with the same claims of providence and design. For example, in a discussion of different human species, Joyce introduced the subject of slavery which he opposed on the basis of its 'violation of the eternal principles of justice and the sacred rights of humanity', and he saw 'the diversities of the human race as merely varieties of the same species produced by natural causes. His liberal vision embraced what he saw as 'pliancy of nature' as 'favourable to the increase to the increase and extension of mankind and to the cultivation and settlement of the earth and was optimistic in predicting 'feelings of a common nature and a common interest'.⁷⁹

Alvin Sullivan's extensive *British Literary Magazines: The Romantic Age 1789-1836* was unable to identify the editors of the short-lived *Imperial Review or London and Dublin Literary Journal* published from January 1804 to December 1805.⁸⁰ The *Imperial Review* (Figure 20) was published by Cadell and Davies in London and a number of Irish publishers in Dublin, Cork and Belfast, and printed by Luke Hansard the printer of government proceedings, but the editors, throughout all 23 issues signed themselves simply 'the editors'. Confirmation that Joyce was one of these editors comes from two sources. Firstly a letter from Cadell and Davies to the

⁷⁸ibid

⁷⁹ibid., April 1816, p.202.

⁸⁰Alvin Sullivan, *British Literary Magazines: The Romantic Age 1789-1836* (London: Greenwood, 1983) pp 189-191; *Imperial Review* English Literary periodicals (Michigan: Ann Arbor, 1972) E.196, reel 1.

THE
 IMPERIAL REVIEW;
Ex OR *Libris*
 LONDON AND DUBLIN
 LITERARY JOURNAL.
Bibliotheca — *Edinburghis.*

VOLUME THE FIRST;
 JANUARY, FEBRUARY, MARCH, AND APRIL,
 1804.

LONDON:
 Printed by Luke Hanford,
 FOR J. LITTLE AND W. DAVIES, IN THE STRAND;
 ALSO,
 FOR J. ARCHER, COMMERCIAL BUILDINGS; J. COOKE, ORMOND
 QUAY; AND R. H. MAHON, GRAYTON STREET, DUBLIN;
 A. EDWARDS, CORK; J. BARRY, LIMERICK;
 AND W. MAGUIRE, BELFAST.

1804.

Figure 20. Title page of the *Imperial Review*. 1804.

'Conductors of the Imperial Review' which was addressed to Joyce's friend and fellow Unitarian William Shepherd in which Joyce is named as one of the editors, and to which Joyce replies; and secondly, in a letter from the Quaker William Rathbone, to Joyce regarding a review of Rathbone's *Narrative of Events in Ireland among the Quakers* (1786) which appears in the *Imperial Review*.⁸¹

The short-lived *Imperial Review*'s prospectus outlines the motive for publication;

The Metropolis of Ireland, a part of the United Kingdom, which has given birth to a fair proportion of literary eminence, is still in want of its "review". The present undertaking, it is hoped, will supply that want, as well as tend to strengthen the literary connection between the Sister Islands.⁸²

Part of the connection with Ireland was the proximity of William Shepherd in the port of Liverpool which was the main conduit of trade and passage between England and Ireland. However, in substance the *Review*'s claimed motivation to strengthen literary connections wasn't realised since it failed to carry extensive Irish or Irish related contributions. The main contents were reviews of classical authors, weighty scientific treatises and the works of prominent dissenters placed in subsections on Antiquities, Biography, Chemistry Medicine and Surgery, Classical Literature and Theology. The works of William Godwin, Thomas Malthus, Joseph Priestley and many more were given lengthy reviews by anonymous reviewers probably including Joyce. The introduction to the first issue claims justification for the 'art of criticism' from 'maxims of antiquity' and claims that 'the rules of criticism' were deduced 'from the study of Homer and other Greek writers' and serve as 'principles which have been universally received by the enlightened part of the world as the standard of true taste'.⁸³

⁸¹Shepherd MSS, Vol. 10, no. 19. Bundle of papers including Joyce's response. Letter from Cadell and Davies dated 11 April. 1804. University of Liverpool Rathbone Collection. Letterbook, ref. RP II.1.168. Rathbone to Joyce 20 Jan., 1805.

⁸²*Imperial Review* (henceforth IR), first issue Jan. 1804, p. v.

⁸³*ibid.*, p. iii.

In their letter to the 'Conductors of the Imperial Review' the Publishers Cadell and Davies suggest that they felt themselves in an awkward position as a result of the anonymity of the editors. Spurred by 'many objections to the reviews' and 'the concerns of a very respectable clergyman' they claimed that the review of John Mason Good's *Life of Dr Geddes*, was unfair and mischievous.⁸⁴ They urged the editors to make a statement of their general position. Joyce's draft response was to have been published in the *Review* but failed to appear. Here Joyce gave ground to the particular objection concerning the anonymous review conceding that it was 'insufficiently qualified', and on the general point of the political position of the editors he was at pains to offer acceptable credentials whilst justifying a liberal editorial policy. Such claimed credentials, given Joyce's radical past and the Unitarian position of the editors, are clearly contrived to provide a respectable image which, at one level at least, were untrue.

The Conductors of the Imperial Review are, and always have been, friends to the establishment in church and state, yet they do not on that account mean to exclude from their work, liberal discussion on all topics and from persons in all parties.⁸⁵

The penultimate issue in November 1805 carries a curious review of Joyce's *Scientific Dialogues*. This substantial review covers eight and a half pages and contains large extracts from the *Dialogues*. However, they also contain a 3 page list of quite damning and substantial errors. Whilst the reviewer says that that the *Dialogues* are 'useful and elegant' he insists the errors need to be corrected before they could be considered 'an agreeable guide to his [Joyce's] young pupils in the paths of natural philosophy'.⁸⁶ The review must have been painful to Joyce and as an editor he must have called heavily on his tradition and belief in candour to publish such critical comments as 'the author's attempt to compare momentum with pressure is founded only on erroneous and superficial

⁸⁴MCO, Shepherd MSS, Vol. 10, no. 19. Cadell and Davies to Joyce.

⁸⁵ibid. Draft of position of the *Imperial Review* signed by Joyce.[Note 81]

⁸⁶IR. Vol. 5 Nov. 1805, pp. 508-516.

conceptions'.⁸⁷ Joyce's explanations of liquids, suction, the wedge, aspects of his section on optics and 'the electric fluid' are damningly shown to be erroneous by a reviewer who must have been very familiar with mechanics and natural philosophy.

It is impossible to determine whether such a negative review prompted the early demise of the periodical, but the end of 1805 was a period in which Joyce had an enormous workload as a compiler of encyclopaedias and as a writer for Richard Phillips. The sheer pressure of work and the need to secure sufficient and immediate income no doubt aided the decision to abandon his career as a periodical editor.

5.5 Political and social respectability

In general Joyce maintained a low political profile. On two occasions, however, he published sermons with political and social implications. On 9 October 1803 Joyce delivered and then published the highly successful sermon, *Courage and Union in a time of National Danger*, (Figure 21), to the Essex Street congregation at a time when his profile at the chapel was relatively high as the minister John Disney was ill and Joyce was fulfilling many of the duties.⁸⁸ The sermon was a patriotic exhortation to join and support the Volunteer system promoted by Addington's ministry in response to the threat of invasion from France. Addington had invited the people to join in March 1803 and 414,000 had joined by December 1803. The system proved very popular because it offered men a way of serving the country with relatively little inconvenience and exempted them from the militia or the army of reserve.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ibid.

⁸⁸Jeremiah Joyce, *Courage and Union in a time of National Danger* (Private Printing, 1803).

⁸⁹Christopher D. Hall, *British Strategy in the Napoleonic Wars 1803- 1815* (Manchester University Press, 1992), p. 2/3.

COURAGE AND UNION

IN A TIME OF

NATIONAL DANGER.

A

SERMON

PREACHED OCTOBER 9, 1803,

AT THE

UNITARIAN CHAPEL, ESSEX STREET,

BY THE

REV. JEREMIAH JOYCE.

PUBLISHED AT THE DESIRE OF SEVERAL PERSONS
WHO HEARD IT.

A fairer isle than Britain never Sun
Viewed in his wide career!

... It is our home—
Our native isle.

Face then th' invading foe;—d disdain to fly;—
Like Britons conquer, or like Britons die.

SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:

Printed by J. Taylor, Black-Horse-Court, Fleet-Street;

AND SOLD BY J. JOHNSON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD;

BICKERSTAFF, CORNER OF ESSEX-STREET; AND

W. VIDLER, 349, STRAND.

1803.

Price One Shilling.

16.

Figure 21. Title page of Joyce's Sermon, *Courage and Union*... 1803.

The unnamed title page poem exhibits the patriotic sentiment of the sermon.

A fairer isle than *Britain* never Sun

Viewed in his wide career!

.....It is our home-

Our *native* isle.

Face then th' *invading* foe:- disdain to fly:-

Like *Britons* Conquer, or like *Britons* die.

Joyce's advertisement for the sermon calls for unity and national duty.

To the friends of freedom, then in Britain, the line of duty is clear and easily defined: - the independence of their country must, above all things be vindicated. Parties of every kind must consolidate themselves into a body, and the motto of every man must be MY COUNTRY, MY COUNTRY.⁹⁰

Using Nehemiah 6 Verse 11 'as an example which calls aloud for the imitation of my countrymen at the present crisis'.⁹¹ Joyce asserted that that there was 'no excuse but age and absolute inability for not joining the Volunteer system'.⁹² He saw the hostilities as a defensive war necessary to stop Napoleon's expansion. His patriotic call to arms however, was not simply cast in terms of national identity. It was justified on the basis of a superior British constitution which:

..notwithstanding all the defects of our constitution, [had] many invaluable privileges transmitted to us by our forefathers, of which they [the French] could form no idea.⁹³

The major privilege Joyce was referring to was the right to trial by jury which he felt was the major distinction between the British state and the French nation who 'cannot comprehend the nature of

⁹⁰J. Joyce. *Courage and Union* ('Published at the desire of several persons who heard it', 1803), p. iv.

⁹¹*ibid.*, p. 14.

⁹²*ibid.*, p. 23.

⁹³*ibid.*, p. 18.

trial by jury, which of itself is a people's chief bulwark against oppression.⁹⁴ Joyce introduced a minor radical edge to the sermon through his combination of the theme of the hard-won rights of juries reflecting his own political history, but the major thrust of the sermon was a patriotic call to Englishmen. The sermon was flatteringly reviewed, twice in the *Monthly Review* (November 1803 & January 1804) and in Vidler's *Universal Theological Magazine* for October 1803 in which the reviewer - possibly Vidler - anticipated a catalogue of potential accusations with which it might have been considered possible to charge Joyce - the acquitted felon.

No unworthy retraction of opinion, no unmanly incongruity of sentiment and conduct, no base compromise of principle, no courtly adulation of persons of high status, no fulsome incense offered at the shrine of power.... Its true praise is that it is decided and unequivocal, honest, manly and consistent throughout; the production of a correct understanding, a benevolent temper, and an upright mind.⁹⁵

Such a patriotic exhortation at a time of crisis was within the limits of respectable pulpit oration and was the only type of overtly political sermon acceptable by the rational dissenting community.⁹⁶

On Joyce's resignation as Secretary to the Unitarian Society in March 1816, he delivered a Sermon at Essex Street Chapel. The Sermon was entitled *On the Subserviency of Free Enquiry and Religious Knowledge, among the Lower Classes of Society to the Prosperity and Permanence of the State*.⁹⁷ (Figure 22). The Sermon came in the year of the first enquiry into the need for education of the poor of the metropolis and was printed following a subscription which

⁹⁴ibid., p. 19.

⁹⁵Review of Joyce's 'Courage and Union', *Universal Theological Magazine*, 9, (Oct. 1803), pp. 214-216.

⁹⁶R.K. Webb, 'Rational Piety', p. 289.

⁹⁷Jeremiah Joyce, *On the Subserviency of Free Enquiry and Religious Knowledge, among the Lower Classes of Society to the Prosperity and Permanence of the State* (For the author, 1816).

*The Subserviency of Free Enquiry and Religious
Knowledge, among the lower Classes of Society, —
to the Prosperity and Permanence of a State, —*

ATTEMPTED TO BE SHOWN IN

A DISCOURSE,

DELIVERED BEFORE

THE UNITARIAN SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING
CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE,

AT ESSEX-STREET CHAPEL,

ON FRIDAY, MARCH 29, 1816.

By THE REV. J. JOYCE.

"The poor have the Gospel preached to them."

MATT. 21. 5.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR ;

AND PUBLISHED BY R. HUNTER, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD.

1816.

Figure 22. Title page of Joyce's Sermon *The Subserviency of Free Enquiry*. 1816

paid for 400 copies. Its title page extract from Mathew (Chapter 11 verse 5) 'the poor shall have the Gospel preached to them', clearly positions the poor as being administered to by enlightened ministers and re-inforces what appears as the main thrust of the Sermon announced in the title - that free enquiry *should* be subservient to the interests of the state.

However, the title does not accurately describe the contents of the sermon which addresses the issue of benevolence to the poor and attempts to justify a quite radical and egalitarian vision of the future development of society. Joyce bemoans the failure and inequalities of ancient civilisation in forthright language and a pronounced sense of injustice.

The splendour of those ancient states was the splendour of the few. The wealth upon which they revelled, and by means of which they indulged in every sensual gratification, it cannot be concealed, was obtained by keeping in a state of ignorance, and even by the oppression of unnumbered thousands, whose condition indeed makes little or no show on the page of history, but whose wretchedness was not the less real because it was disregarded by those in the higher classes of society.⁹⁸

Joyce argues that the reason for the downfall of the ancient civilisations 'long since reduced to the depths of hell', was that they were not 'reared on foundations consisting on more lasting materials'. Greece and Rome would not have fallen if:

..the principles of immutable justice had been better consulted: and the gaudy splendour and artificial distinctions of the few had given place to the real advantages of the whole.⁹⁹

Here both Unitarian and utilitarian lines of argument mingle in Joyce's account which moves forward to argue that 'state policy and general happiness shall be considered as one and the same principle', and 'the duty of extensive benevolence' should be 'enforced'.¹⁰⁰ Joyce's idealised image of

⁹⁸Joyce, *Subserviency of Free Enquiry*, p.5

⁹⁹ibid., p. 7/8

¹⁰⁰ibid., p. 8 & 18.

society was that all people have 'one common nature',¹⁰¹ and that society was intended by God to be an harmonious whole whose nature was a 'social compact:- that society was intended to render each one serviceable to his fellow creatures; to connect all as members of one great family'.¹⁰²

The concept of benevolence was to some extent secularised through the eighteenth century and became a central feature of Jeremy Bentham's utilitarianism. Benevolence as a Christian virtue had similarities to benevolence as a personal ethic in the utilitarian programme. Within the mutual scientific outlook of both rational dissent and utilitarianism, benevolence provided a subject of mutual concern and interest. There were strong connections between Benthamite utilitarian and the Unitarian circles surrounding Robert Aspland, whose *Monthly Repository*, in which Joyce wrote, carried an extract from the conclusion of Bentham's *Fragment on Government* as its front page motto.¹⁰³ Joyce's relationship to the utilitarians who became known as the 'philosophic radicals', is not well documented, although one of the leading members, Francis Place, wrote to Joyce on at least one occasion requesting a copy of the *Narrative of the Suffering of Thomas Palmer*.¹⁰⁴

The utilitarian idea of quantitative benefits to the whole and the Unitarian emphasis on piety are combined in Joyce's emphasis on benevolence. The benefits of benevolence to the poor would, according to Joyce, have two greater benefits to the whole. Firstly, 'The quantity of suffering and of ignorance in the world would go down',¹⁰⁵ and secondly, 'In promoting the happiness and the knowledge of our fellow creatures we are cherishing in our minds the tenderest feelings, which are the ornaments of the man and the Christian'.¹⁰⁶ Joyce argued that the Unitarian Society's efforts were directed to these benevolent ends which it sought to achieve through the distribution of books

¹⁰¹ibid., p. 18

¹⁰²ibid., p. 18

¹⁰³Mineka, *The Dissidence of Dissent*, p. 101/2.

¹⁰⁴Place Papers. Add MSS 27816. Harvester Microfilm reel 115. Copy of the *Narrative*. F. 97 Letter from Place to Joyce. Jan 30th. 1815.

¹⁰⁵Joyce, *Subserviency*, p. 19.

¹⁰⁶ibid., p. 21.

to 'inculcate the rational principles of religion, and the necessity of free enquiry on topics essential to the best interests of man',¹⁰⁷ in order to facilitate 'the spread of rational knowledge among the people [which] will be the stability of that people'.¹⁰⁸

The vision that Joyce promoted accepts the existence of inequalities but aspires to a gradual development which will be produced after a period of gradual Christian and rational education. He did not aspire to a society based on complete equality but sought to reduce the excessive gap between the extremes of social circumstances.

It cannot be doubted, that so long as there exists a difference in the talents, and a distinction in the capacities of individuals, there must be, as a necessary result, an inequality in the condition of mankind. But it is neither natural nor necessary that there should be such enormous disproportions as we know there are in the situations of individuals belonging to almost every civilised society in the world.¹⁰⁹

In fact the sermon does not directly discuss the relative positions of free enquiry and the 'Prosperity and permanence of the State' which the title suggests. The discussion reflects a concern with inequalities and produces a mechanism - Christian benevolence - with which to address such inequalities. The requirement for a prosperous state is taken as given and the focus is on how to incorporate all the people into such a state of prosperity and material comfort.

These two sermons show that Joyce was concerned to present himself and his Unitarian perspective as respectable, but that he did not lose his radical impulses or vision altogether. The reminder of the hard-won rights of juries in the 1803 sermon, and the rather stronger egalitarian aspiration of the 1816 sermon, suggest that Joyce, rather than rejecting the revolutionary ideas of

¹⁰⁷ibid., p. 23.

¹⁰⁸ibid., p.24.

¹⁰⁹ibid., p.11.

the 1790s and retreating to a more conservative perspective, learnt the skills of adaptation, accommodation and compromise.

Chapter 6

The works of Jeremiah Joyce

6.1 Introduction

Until recently the history of patronage in eighteenth century literary production described an arrangement in which the support of wealthy nobleman for the endeavours of inspired writers, and which began to stop around the 1750s when Samuel Johnson emerged as the first truly independent writer. Under this view, by the beginning of the nineteenth century patronage was no longer a feature of literary production and the main determining feature of literary success or failure was the market-place. The literary historian A.S. Collins was one of the most significant proponents of this position commenting:

A man who took to his pen for a living in 1780 gave patronage scarcely a thought. It had outgrown its use, which had been an honourable use when a writer could not maintain himself without a patron. When he could not get a public to support him, because the reading public was too small, it was no shame to be dependent on a patron.¹

Collins' comment focuses on the growth of the economic potential of the market for books, and the changing relationship between writers, publishers and the market in which the writer's integrity depended on success in securing a sufficient readership, rather than fulfilling the interests of a patron. The changes Collins identifies were particularly important factors for Joyce who, as a Protestant dissenter, laid considerable emphasis on the importance of being financially independent. For dissenters like Joyce, respectability and personal integrity were sustained through both professional and financial independence. As an aspiring author his position with Stanhope was, therefore, heavily compromised.

¹A.S.Collins, *The Profession of Letters, 1780-1832* (Routledge, 1928), p. 115.

However, in recent years Collins's account of patronage has come under increasing scrutiny. Dustin Griffin has argued that the 'golden age' of patronage, in which writers enjoyed handsome pensions and were free to develop their literary pursuits, is largely a myth created by later writers who assumed that the life of previous writers must have been better than their own. Griffin argues that the traditional image of literary patronage is both selective and nostalgic and ignores the complex political and social dimensions of the arrangement. Griffin claims that patronage was always a complex relationship involving both an exchange of goods and services and a cultural economics in which what was at stake was the control of high literary culture. Furthermore, Griffin disputes the account given by Collins, which traces a transition from a traditional system of patronage to a literary marketplace through the eighteenth century. Rather, Griffin elaborates a process of contestation in which patrons, authors, booksellers/publishers struggled for position and authority in the context of the overlapping cultural economies of patronage and the realities of the market-place.² He also argues that rather than declining, by the end of the eighteenth century a system of patronage was still strong and had evolved new forms in which societies, book clubs and literary circles assumed greater roles in supporting the arts.³

A further shortcoming of the traditional (Collins) model, is that it fails to acknowledge the ways in which different forms of patronage operated. For instance, it has recently been argued by John Gascoigne that the president of the Royal society, Joseph Banks, took a view that science was politically important and that the patronage of science was necessary to achieve the goals of government.⁴ The patronage that Banks and the Royal Society conferred therefore, contains features insufficiently explained by the traditional (Collins) model, and suggests that there were

² Dustin Griffin, *Literary Patronage in England, 1650-1800* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), p.10/11.

³ *ibid.*, p.277.

⁴ John Gascoigne, *Science in the Service of the Empire* (Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 22.

different forms of patronage performing different functions and serving a range of purposes including both the interests of organisations and individuals, and large scale political and social projects.

Patronage is therefore better understood as having a number of modes and as fulfilling different functions, in different ways, in different contexts. Griffin's account provides a more sophisticated version of patronage and serves to describe some of the complex features of Joyce's working life, many of which cannot be explained with the traditional (Collins) model. Indeed, Joyce's working life reflects some of the complexity Griffin alludes to. To some extent Stanhope was Joyce's patron in the sense of a nobleman's support, but this was not the only working relationship between the two - Joyce was also Stanhope's secretary and the tutor his children. Joyce's involvement in the Society for Constitutional Information, which sponsored the distribution of politically radical material, was a form of patronage and he was, in this sense, himself a patron to Tom Paine and his influential *Rights of Man*. Similarly, Joyce's work in producing and distributing tracts for the Unitarian Society can be seen as a way of cultivating and promoting culture - one of the main functions of patronage.

The Griffin model describes a shifting complexity of relationships in which one pattern of complexity was replaced by another. Using Griffin's model, the working relationships in which Joyce was situated, can be understood in terms of transitional processes in which his publishers, to some extent, took over some of the relationships of patronage from Stanhope whilst not providing him with regular wages. Griffin's model enables the changes in Joyce's working relationships to be understood in terms of different emphasis rather than clear and absolute change. Joyce's relationships with publishers (particularly Joseph Johnson, Richard Phillips and Longmans), can be therefore be understood as revealing the process of general reformulation of the system of literary patronage. For instance, Joseph Johnson was generous to a number of struggling writers, and

therefore partially acted in the traditional sense of patron, but he always had to consider and respond to the commercial realities of the marketplace. Richard Phillips, whilst clearly a clever entrepreneur who speculated on the basis of a commercial estimation of the market, operated a network of writers and compilers to which he assumed the figure of patron. Similarly, in cultivating their own network of authors, the firm of Longmans adopted some of the features of patronage witnessed most notably in the hosting and provision of their famous literary dinner parties. One of the social functions of publishers therefore, was to nurture and facilitate writers - a traditional function of the patron - which they which they would then be able to commercially exploit.

However, despite the increased sophistication and explanatory potential of the Griffin model, Collins's focus on the power of the market-place in transforming the working relationships of authors, remains the most important factor in determining both Joyce's working life and the nature of the books he produced. As is the case for most working people, Joyce was always compromised to the sources of his income and there is a strong sense in which the compromises of Stanhope's patronage were replaced by the compromises of the commercial marketplace. The causal factors determining what Joyce produced and to whom it was targeted, were always closely linked to the commercial strategies of his publishers. Indeed the fact that Joyce produced popular science and educational books which were a fairly low form of cultural production and for which the number of purchasers was growing but was still fairly limited, meant that Joyce was intimately dependant upon, and compromised to, his publisher's skill in developing and exploiting relatively small markets.

Conflicts between personal intellectual integrity and commercial reality often force compromise in the process of literary production. The context in which Joyce worked was the commercial world of book production which could only generate enough wealth to support a limited number of

writers and forced Joyce to adapt his Unitarian aspirations. Study of Joyce's works clearly reveals the two - Unitarian and commercial - factors in sharp relief. The two pressures however, cannot be considered as expressing a consistently oppositional relationship, as Joyce's Unitarian world view was partly built on the values of commercial entrepreneurship.

Joyce's writings published in the period between November 1799 and June 1816 illustrate several features of popular science and education. They show firstly, some of the ways in which science was presented to young audiences and secondly, the compromises between commercial, theological and pedagogical impulses in popular educational publishing; thirdly, and most importantly for this biographical thesis, they express the life and work of a jobbing metropolitan writer at the opening of the nineteenth century.

Joyce was writing at a time when the patterns of social and intellectual life in Britain, had been profoundly influenced by the French Revolution. After the Revolution the debate over the extension of education took a new direction.⁵ In broad terms, on the one hand radical sentiment, witnessed most provocatively in the writings of Thomas Paine, saw education as promising emancipation and social progress. On the other, conservatives looked in horror at the possible consequences of assisting the people against their rulers.⁶ It was against such a background of opposing sentiments that the educational systems of the first decades of the nineteenth century were formed. In contrast to France where views on education were divided between secular and religious positions, Britain's educational debate centred on the question of whether education should be controlled by the established church. Much of the debate was focused on the introduction of new forms of schooling. Dissenters largely supported the Quaker, Joseph Lancaster, whilst the establishment supported the Anglican Andrew Bell, in what was essentially

⁵H.C. Barnard, *Education and the French Revolution* (Cambridge University Press, 1969), p. 246.

⁶*ibid.*, p. 230.

the same monitorial method. The debate in England therefore was not a debate over whether or not education should have a religious dimension, but who should control it. What is clear is that despite this debate, or possibly because of it, the market for educational books increased.

Several factors aided the creation of a market for Joyce's educational books on science. The introduction of stronger iron presses began to produce a more efficient printing industry. The presentation of science through popular scientific lectures, particularly at the Royal Institution, served to boost the profile of science in the public imagination. Most importantly, the need for literate workers to manage the industrial production and commercial interests of an expanding capitalist society, stimulated the demand for educational materials. Through the first decade of the nineteenth century, with the high cost of paper serving to price books beyond the pockets of most people in a society suffering the privations of a costly war, the market for books was notable for its increase in variety, rather than its volume of sales.⁷ The three main publishers with whom Joyce worked - Joseph Johnson, Sir Richard Phillips, and Thomas Longman - were all involved in the exploitation of the educational market, although their motivations and styles were very different. Indeed their various productions shared in the creation of a more diverse and segmented market in which products covered a wider range of subjects and were increasingly priced to suit different pockets. The range of Joyce's titles exhibits some of this variety but also reflects an increasing sophistication in the construction of educational products for different ages and types of readers. He produced science texts, school texts, home texts, geographies, encyclopaedias, and books aimed at different age and social groups. He produced an arithmetic, a set of letters, a system of education, guides to microscopes and telescopes and a description of the trades. He worked on an almanac, a history of the admirals and he provided the commentary on a set of pictorial illustrations of Shakespeare. He covered natural philosophy including, hydrostatics, pneumatics, optics,

⁷Marjorie Plant, *The English Book Trade* (Allen & Unwin, 1965), p. 445.

astronomy, electricity and galvanism. He wrote on natural theology, physiology, anatomy, chemistry, botany, zoology and meteorology. His production was as eclectic as it was voluminous, and it is the varied nature of his works that is one of the key features of his production.

Many supporters of the Anglican church characterised Lancaster's system as subversive to Christianity and as favouring Unitarianism.⁸ Radical writers on education, however, did not present a unified front. William Godwin for instance, in contrast to Thomas Paine, argued against a national provision on grounds that it would reflect the interest of the national government and was therefore an evil rather than emancipatory force.⁹ Indeed a large section of the politically radical community accepted Godwin's argument against the direction of learning by any authority.¹⁰ The debate over education was therefore complex and the idea of a state provision not automatically attractive to dissenters. As schooling increased through 1800-1816, Joyce had to create educational materials for use in schools as it became a more important market for educational publishers. However, for many radicals and dissenters, home and individual learning offered a more attractive solution.¹¹ Joyce therefore, also had to provide an educational technology which supported the individual home based learner. As a result, nearly all Joyce's works, either as he created them or as they were subsequently adapted, cater for both the individual learner and for the use of schools. The duality of their target markets inevitably influenced their pedagogical design and their presentation of ideas. Joyce's works resulted from a compromise between several factors: political debates over education, the commercial importance of catering for different markets, and Joyce's own pedagogical and dissenting concerns.

⁸Francis Adams, *History of the Elementary School Contest in England*, ed. by Asa Briggs (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1972, 1st ed. 1882), p. 61.

⁹Barnard, p. 235.

¹⁰Richard Johnson 'Really useful knowledge' in J. Clarke, C. Critcher and R. Johnson, *Working Class Culture: Studies in History and Theory* (Hutchinson, 1979), pp. 75-102, p. 95.

¹¹Brian Simon, *Studies in the History of Education* (Lawrence & Wishart, 1960), pp. 183-189.

Joyce was writing at a time when many educational authors compiled rather than composed and wrote on very different subjects.¹² Although some of his writings are original, he borrowed, stole, combined, quoted, abbreviated, used and re-used material that he generally referenced but sometimes didn't. Joyce's status as an author is therefore complex, indeed, the title 'author' is highly problematic in a period when the capacity for writers to operate as financially independent agents, was relatively new. Without independent means, many authors were forced to act as literary proletarians in response to cold commercial logic, and therefore, their products expressed the exigencies of the market-place rather than their own literary aspirations. The romantic discourse of authorship and creativity which infuses most forms of high culture and serves to demarcate between literary products as genuinely artistic or merely commercial, is a discourse which specifically excluded the kind of works Joyce produced.

The romantic model of creativity and originality is also linked to the notion of the ownership of ideas and poses some difficult questions in respect to Joyce's works which, in large measure, contain other writers' ideas. In legal terms the ownership of ideas is maintained through copyright but a legal definition of copyright in which authors owned the ideas that appeared in the pages of their books, only began to emerge from the mid eighteenth century.¹³ The series of legal cases through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which serve to refine copyright legislation, progressively constructed copyright as a concept over which authors had some control, rather than as a piece of property held by the owners of the physical books.¹⁴ However, for the kind of works Joyce came to produce - abridgements, compilations, children's books, encyclopaedias and miscellaneous educational works, the concepts of originality and ownership and the copyright law

¹²Joyce Whalley, *Cobwebs to Catch flies, illustrated books for the nursery and schoolroom 1700 - 1900* (Elek, 1974), p. 114.

¹³John Feather, *Publishing, Piracy and Politics: an Historical study of Copyright in Britain* (Mansell, 1994), p. 6.

¹⁴*ibid.*, p. 95.

relating such concepts to legal statute, was far from clear. The issue of the status of abridgements had appeared in the case of *Gyles v Wilcox* (1740), in which the issue was whether or not an abridgement was a new work and whether an abridger was an author. Lord Chancellor Harwicke decided that an abridgement was 'a new work, and that an abridger, whose work required invention, learning and judgement, was an author'.¹⁵ However the *Gyles v Wilcox* case was insufficient to clearly define legal statute in all related cases and in the period Joyce was writing, conflict between authorial and commercial interests relating to abridgements, translations, textbooks and other forms of literary production, could not be resolved through appeal to precedent. It is important to recognise that one of the conceptual foundations of Joyce's works lay in the older tradition of copyright as ownership of the copies of the books themselves. Such a view of copyright favoured publishers rather than authors, and secured their exclusive rights to printing books. It also enabled them to commission publishing speculations in which the writer's personal investment would be in terms of organisation, arrangement and construction rather than an inspirational offering of original ideas. As the case of *Gyles v Wilcox* shows, there was a tradition of abridgement and compilation which, whilst it may not have fulfilled romantic notions of artistic credibility or fitted the highest canons of literary respectability, was a recognised and partly respectable literary profession.

The thorny debate over the ownership of ideas and the production of meaning is problematic, and Joyce's literary production provides a revealing case study of the role of authorial identity in the social construction of science. There is no space for a systematic discussion of these issues here although it is argued that Joyce shared in the production of meaning in the books he produced. Joyce's craft was to select from sources to produce a work in anticipation of the needs of his audiences and in line with the directives of his publishers. He shaped and presented science in his

¹⁵Mark Rose, *Authors and Owners* (Harvard University Press, 1994), p. 51.

books and he linked and positioned ideas in response to the impulses which informed his actions. Whilst nearly all those ideas had a prehistory, he was responsible for them as they appeared on the page. He was therefore, instrumental in the production of meaning and the social production of science.

The books that Joyce and his publishers produced were to a significant extent publishing experiments. They were speculations sometimes based on established genres, but also new products with which they tested, probed and exploited new audiences. Such products did not simply exploit the market for educational books, they shared in its creation. The type of educational works that were produced relied heavily on publishers' estimation of the market and the possibilities of a successful commercial venture. Johnson, a Unitarian and close friend of Priestley, was elderly by the time Joyce worked with him. The kind of works Joyce published with Johnson had a sophisticated pedagogy and a literary style that his work with others publishers lacked and were clearly weighted towards upper middle-class readers. With Johnson, Joyce produced works that retained elements of an eighteenth century version of liberal education in which aesthetics and literary style held a high profile. Richard Phillips was a contemporary of Joyce, an entrepreneurial businessman unpopular with the literary intelligentsia as a consequence of his business brutality, who speculated upon and marketed a huge range of cheap didactic works, many of which he commissioned Joyce to write. The works Joyce produced with him were constructed on formulas derived from Phillips's commercial skill and understanding of the market. Joyce was commissioned to produce works, many of which came out under pseudonyms and all of which give the impression of being conceived as a potential financial earner by Phillips, and produced by Joyce the literary sub-contractor. Thomas Norton Longman's firm was growing in size and was one of the first major publishing houses operating with a corporate ethos rather than as an independent publisher. Joyce was employed on the major project of *Nicholson's Dictionary* (1807, discussed below),

when he received a monthly wage and he went on to establish a half-profits agreement on other works. The works he produced with Longmans had none of the feeling of literary aspiration of those he produced for Johnson, nor any of the feeling of raw entrepreneurial speculation that Phillips's commissions had. Rather, they were more measured productions that approached more established sectors of the market.

The traditional and dominant model of popularisation sees popular works as carrying less intrinsic worth than works which have come to be seen as the products of more original thinkers.¹⁶ Most of Joyce's works were popular formulations of science, were low priced, were educational, were for children, and were compilations. There has therefore been plenty of reasons why Joyce's works have not been taken as a serious source of study by historical and literary researchers. From the perspective of the dominant model of popularisation, Joyce's works represent cheap commercial profiteering that simply stole and rearranged the ideas produced by more original thinkers. Such a line of analysis inevitably foregrounds profit as the exclusive motivation for the type of work Joyce produced. The drive for financial benefit was clearly the major impetus directing publisher speculations. However, the binary opposition of commercial interest versus genuine knowledge production, which is a conceptual opposition informing many canonic literatures, is an oversimplistic dissection of the trade in educational products. The biographies, the motivations and the perspectives of the publishers, authors, printers and booksellers involved, were far more complex that can be sufficiently explained using the commercial/genuine binary. Furthermore, an important piece of empirical evidence urges taking Joyce's works seriously in the study of science publishing in the early nineteenth century - their extraordinary success. As discussed below, many of Joyce's works were heavily reprinted, updated and edited for over a 60-year period; some titles

¹⁶Stephen Hilgartner, 'The dominant view of popularisation: conceptual problems, political uses', *Social Studies of Science*, 20, (1990), 519-39.

being printed in the hundreds of thousands and also appearing in America, the British Colonies and Europe. Whilst the extent to which a book was printed does not simply equate to its influence or even the extent to which it was read, it does indicate that it was bought in large numbers and took a place in the windows and catalogues of booksellers and the shelves of public and private libraries. If individual acts of reading science are considered quantitatively, Joyce's *Scientific Dialogues* published from 1800 to 1892, was doubtless more widely read than Newton's extremely hard *Principia* over the same period. Through their presentation of science in the public domain, the kind of works that Joyce produced were instrumental both to the public understanding of science and the cultural values attendant upon science, in the nineteenth century.

In the account of Joyce's works I have endeavoured to reflect each production as a unique project except in cases where such projects were obviously related. My motivation for taking this approach rather than selecting and exploring key themes and aspects of Joyce's works, is that it explains Joyce's working circumstances and production. The most striking feature of his works is their eclecticism. He had to design a range of books and respond to a variety of publishing directives to produce new products in order to exploit the expanding market place for books. The treatment below endeavours, as far as possible, to provide an account of Joyce's literary production from Joyce's perspective as a jobbing author facing a series of new commissions. The treatment aspires to reflect both a sense of progress of Joyce's literary endeavours and an impression of his day-to-day working life. Joyce was largely a commission and project worker. His eclectic projects, over which he had varying degrees of control, were often running at the same time. Joyce worked on single projects with the publishers H.D.Symonds and Sherwood Neely about whom very little is known, but by far the largest proportion of his works were published by Johnson, Phillips and Longmans for whom Joyce sometimes worked simultaneously. Despite some periods when Joyce was involved in concurrent projects for all three publishers, his working life progressed from

Johnson to Phillips to Longmans. Joyce emerges as a protégé of the Unitarian world nurtured by Theophilus Lindsey and Joseph Johnson and under the wing of the radical Whig Lord Stanhope. From 1802 he entered the cut-throat world of commercial speculation with Richard Phillips and towards the end of the decade he found a relative safe home in the no less commercial, but considerably less volatile, successful house of Longman.

6.2 An eminent literary character: publishing with H. D. Symonds

By the beginning of the nineteenth century Shakespeare studies were recognised as part of high culture in Britain.¹⁷ Numerous writers and publishers exploited the market for Shakespeare and produced a wide range of material notably including Charles Lamb's famous *Tales from Shakespeare* (1807).¹⁸ On 3 August 1800 Benjamin Flower's *Cambridge Intelligencer* carried the following advertisement on its front page:

The Public are respectfully informed that this day was published at 7s 6d each, Number 1 & 2 of highly finished engravings from Shakespeare's Seven Ages of man... Accompanied with description, historical and entertaining, by AN EMINENT LITERARY CHARACTER.

The work was published in 4 monthly numbers, each consisting of 2 large engraved plates drawn by Thomas Stothard and engraved by William Bromley, and four pages of letter press. The work was published by H.D. Symonds and sold by Flower and two up-market London booksellers - Richardson in the Royal Exchange and Debrett in Piccadilly. The 'Eminent Literary Character' was Jeremiah Joyce.

¹⁷David Daiches, 'Presenting Shakespeare', in *Essays in the history of Publishing*, ed. by Asa Briggs (Longmans, 1974), p.90/91.

¹⁸Charles Lamb, *Tales From Shakespeare* (Chatto & Windus 1885, 1st edn. 1807)

Stothard took many of his subjects from Shakespeare and many of his Shakespeare drawings were reproduced in different forms.¹⁹ The Seven Ages of Man from Jaques's speech in *As You Like it*, provided a series of studies and engravings had been published and engraved separately by Bromley in 1799. The details of the project to incorporate Joyce's text with Stothard's drawings have not been discovered. It is clear that having just left Stanhope and in need of income, some of Joyce's contacts were clearly disposed to both help and use him. The relatively small world of London publishing at the turn of the century may well have brought Joyce into contact with Stothard, whose close friend, William Blake, used to frequent Joseph Johnson's shop also much frequented by Joyce. The publisher Symonds is likely to have had sympathies with Joyce as he had published several political tracts for which he had gone to prison for 'some months'.²⁰ The Unitarian Benjamin Flower had, by then, a five year working relationship with Joyce and may have been keen to help him by advertising one of his latest projects.

Bound together the plates and text constitute a large coffee-table type book designed for middle and upper class audiences. Joyce's text is littered with quotations from the famous literary figures of Dryden, Spencer, Milton, Ovid and Cicero. However, his ardent scientific tendencies inform his attempts to describe Shakespeare's sevenfold division of the life of man. Of the first 'age', Joyce says:

It is probable, however, that the pain felt by infants recently born, and which is expressed by their cries, or as Shakespeare describes it, "by their mewling in the nurses arms," is only a corporeal sensation, similar to that experienced by other animals. Mental sensation, is supposed, by most writers on the subject, to commence no sooner than at the end of five or six weeks; for smiles and tears which are the indication of it, and which depend on the

¹⁹A.C. Coxhead, *Thomas Stothard* (A.H.Bullen, 1906), p. 94.

²⁰Thomas Rees, *Reminiscences of Literary London from 1779 to 1853* (Garland, 1974), p. 63.

action of the mind, are, according to M. Buffon, never seen in children till they are about forty days old: the former originate from the sight and recollection of a known and desirable object; the latter are the consequences of some disagreeable agitation, composed of sympathy and anxiety for one's own welfare.²¹

Joyce cited Buffon as the major authority on human development throughout and Buffon's *Histoire Naturelle* (1749), provided Joyce with sources for many of his other literary endeavours. The *Histoire's* second and third volumes included a natural historical description of the life of man from infancy to old age, and Joyce's project combined the developmental sequence of Shakespeare's Seven Ages and the developmental sequence laid out by Buffon.

Whenever the extract from Jaques's speech alluded to a physical feature, Joyce took the opportunity to provide a physical and mildly scientific explanation. Joyce describes the infant's 'puking', as being due to nature which has 'provided against any inconvenience which might otherwise arise from the stomach being overcharged with milk, by making the infant throw up the superfluous quantity'.²² In similarly natural historical tones, Joyce's exegesis of Shakespeare's third age 'And then, the lover; Sighing like a furnace, with a woeful ballad made to his mistress's eyebrow', focuses on the eyebrow as 'an essential part of beauty', and gives a number of poetical extracts from Horace and Spencer which demonstrate how the anatomical features of the eyebrow, the eyelid and hair, are important in forming beautiful women.²³

Joyce was not successful at blending high literature and natural history and he produced an awkward text. To readers familiar with Shakespeare and seeking sophisticated stimulation, Joyce's

²¹Jeremiah Joyce (Anon), *Shakespeare's Seven Ages of Man Illustrated* (H. D. Symonds, 1800), p. 1.

²²*ibid.*

²³*ibid.*, p. 6.

naturalistic and mechanical language describing the sixth age (old age), may well have jarred their sensibilities:

At this age man's outward form contracts, and every movement of the limbs is performed with difficulty and languor. The circulation of the fluids becomes sluggish and interrupted; perspiration is diminished; the nutritious juices are less abundant, and being rejected by the parts already too dense, they can communicate no fresh supplies.²⁴

Whilst Joyce drew on Buffon as a source for natural historical information with which to generate a scientific account of the development of the physical and thinking faculties of mankind, he considered Buffon's claim that 'the first fifteen years of our existence can be regarded as nothing', as 'exaggerated'. He focused on the importance of the early years claiming that 'the desire and passions, which exist in the youthful breast are as many checks and disappointments as can be conceived to militate against the pursuits and projects of riper years'.²⁵ No doubt under the influence of Rousseau's idea that society corrupted the individual, Joyce argued that society deprived children of their natural sense of independence and that their play was disturbed by the requirement for gravity extorted through 'the effect of fear'.²⁶

Joyce's conceptual linkage between notions of the relative independence of the human spirit in children and the appropriate pedagogy with which to approach children, are also displayed in his arguments against rote learning. Joyce's explanation of Stothard's depiction of Shakespeare's schoolboy 'creeping like a snail unwilling to go to school' (Figure 23), was that the boy's sense of independence was shortly to receive unnatural subjugation. Such subjugation included, Joyce argued, the mistaken methodology of rote-learning, 'which can convey to him no pleasurable idea,

²⁴ibid., p. 12

²⁵ibid., p. 3/4.

²⁶ibid.

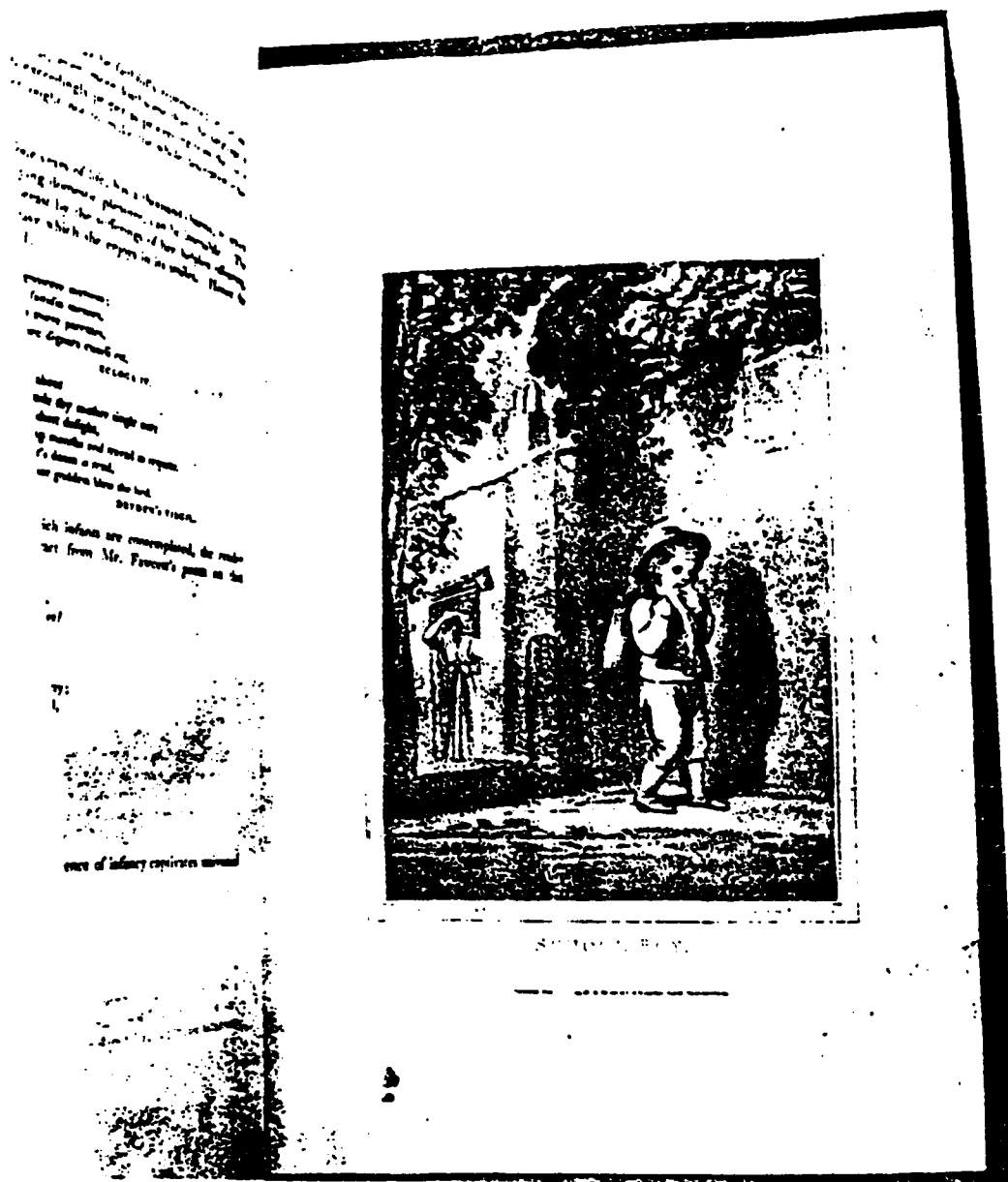


Figure 23. Illustration from *Shakespeare's Seven Ages of Man Illustrated* (H. D. Symonds, 1800).

Drawn by Thomas Stodard and engraved by William Bromley 1799.

and which he would resist if he enjoyed the smallest share of independence'.²⁷ In contrast and using the example of the self education of Queen Elizabeth, Joyce promoted learning by regular and practical engagement with the subject:

It may, however be doubted whether this method for learning [rote learning], though so long established in our schools, be the best that can be adapted for the purpose. Queen Elizabeth, whose attainments in classical literature were of the first rate, is said never to have taken a grammar into her hand, unless for the sake of declining nouns and verbs, but by translating something every day from Latin and Greek....²⁸

John Locke's natural history of the mind, Buffon's *Histoire Naturelle* and Rousseau's concept of the state of nature were influential in fashioning eighteenth century images of humanity.²⁹ In his natural historical account of Shakespeare's seven ages, Joyce drew on all three sources. The image of human development that Joyce promoted was however, also one which reflected the position and struggle of rational dissent. For Joyce, human beings are essentially autonomous and independent, yet created on the basis of a rational plan. Their full potential could only be realised by a liberal education and conducive social circumstances.

This was Joyce's only significant attempt at high literature. If he hoped that it would lead to literary honours, he was mistaken. There is no evidence that sales were particularly high or that there were any further editions. Only four copies of the bound work are currently in public or University libraries. As with many of his works he was not credited by name due to the reputation he had gained from the 1794 Treason Trials and which encouraged the publishers to conceal the fact of his authorship. This is also one of the few texts in which Joyce made no direct mention or

²⁷ibid.

²⁸ibid.

²⁹Paul B. Wood, 'The Science of man' in *Cultures of Natural History*, ed. by N. Jardine, J. A. Secord and E. C. Spray (Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp 197-210, (p.197).

allusion to God. Whether the subject matter, the publisher, Stothard or his own understanding of the nature of the project, debarred him from mentioning divine providence, without the consistent underpinning of natural theology, his text lacks both clarity of ideas and strength of argument.



Figure 24. Engraved portrait of Joseph Johnson. Moses Haughton ca. 1800. Frontispiece. in Gerald P. Tyson, *Josephon Johnson*(Iowa US. University of Iowa Press, 1979).

6.3.1 Publishing with Joseph Johnson. *Enfield's Institutes*

Joyce's contact with Johnson (Figure 24) probably began in the early 1780s when he attended Lindsey's Essex Street Unitarian Chapel, which Johnson partly sponsored.³⁰ Johnson published many Unitarian works and was the most obvious publisher for a Unitarian to become involved with. Furthermore, Johnson, like Joyce, had been a member of the Society for Constitutional Information and whilst Johnson was alive, Joyce had a close working relationship with him as secretary of the Unitarian Society.

Many of Joyce's literary skills were gained from his first experience of working on a scientific textbook. William Enfield (1741-1797) published *The Institutes of Natural Philosophy* (1785) through Johnson.³¹ Enfield had taken Priestley's position at Warrington Academy and subsequently became minister at the Dissenters' Octagon chapel at Norwich in 1785. He was a prolific writer on a number of subjects including education and science. In an essay delivered to the Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society in 1793, he lamented what he viewed as restricted methods of education:

[Modern education] is calculated, almost solely, for the exercise and improvement of the understanding and memory, and makes little provision for the cultivation of other faculties of the mind.....as if our whole business and our whole enjoyment consisted in thinking, and nature had designed us neither to feel nor to act. ³²

Enfield's insistence on 'feeling' and 'action' as part of the human condition to which education should be directed, expressed his concern to promote a pedagogy which bridged the domains of

³⁰Gerald P. Tyson, *Joseph Johnson: A liberal publisher* (University of Iowa Press, 1979), p. 44.

³¹William Enfield *The Institutes of Natural Philosophy, Theoretical and Experimental* (Johnson, 1785).

³²William Enfield, *An essay on the cultivation of taste as a proper object of attention in the education of youth* (Newcastle: 1793), quoted in Ian Michael, *The teaching of English from the sixteenth century to 1870* (Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 248.

intellect, morality and human action. For Enfield, the aesthetic experience and the cultivation of 'taste', should guide moral action and the controlling force of the aesthetic experience was the imagination.³³ Therefore education should include an appeal to the imagination and in order to stimulate and engage the imagination, it was necessary, to find ways of engaging the student's interest. In the preface to the *Institutes*, Enfield claimed that in order to learn the subject, students had to follow the process of the discovery of facts by experiment, trace the inference from such facts to the laws of nature and then apply such laws to the explanation of particular phenomena through the application of mathematical knowledge and understanding. The pedagogical line Enfield took was that 'it is unreasonable to hope to acquire knowledge without undergoing the labour by which it is usually gained'.³⁴ It was through reproducing experiments that the interest of students would be engaged and their aesthetic sensibilities stimulated. Experiments became an important feature of the curriculum of dissenting academies and were important features of Enfield's *Institutes* and the textbooks Joyce would subsequently write.

Enfield's writings proved lucrative for Johnson and there had been a long and friendly relationship between the two men. There is evidence that Johnson sought to help Enfield's widow after Enfield's death by re-issuing some of his works in 1799.³⁵ This may have been the initial motive for Joyce to update the *Institutes* for a new edition in 1799, which he increased in length by one third, adding substantial sections, introducing many new scientific developments and entering a new 24 page section entitled, 'Of the Factitious Airs and the First Principles of Chemistry'. (Figure 25). Johnson was the most prolific publisher on the subject of factitious airs and the addition of such a section, reflecting the work of Thomas Beddoes and Humphry Davy in the Bristol Pneumatic Institution, may have been Johnson's rather than Joyce's idea.

³³Michael, *ibid.*

³⁴Enfield, *Institutes* (1785), p. vi.

³⁵Tyson, p. 153.

B O O K V I I I .

Of the FACTITIOUS AIRS, and the FIRST PRINCIPLES
of CHEMISTRY.

C H A P . I .

Of CHEMICAL ATTRACTIONS.

DEF. I. **C**HEMISTRY is that science by means of which are ascertained the nature and properties of bodies.

The methods of obtaining this knowledge are *analysis* and *synthesis*: but there being no criteria by which we can distinguish the primary elements, there can be no certainty, in any instance, of a complete analysis.

DEF. II. That power which tends continually to bring principles together which are disunited, and which retains with more or less energy, those which are already in a state of combination, is called the attraction of affinity.

It is impossible to produce any change in nature without interrupting or modifying this attractive power.

DEF. III. Affinity of aggregation is that which exists between two principles of the same nature.

Two drops of water which come together form an aggregate. Each drop may be called an *integrant part*.

An *aggregate* differs from a *heap*, because the integrant parts of the latter have no perceptible adhesion to each other, as a heap of sand, corn, &c. They both differ from a *mixture*, the constituent parts of which are of a different nature, as gunpowder.

The

Figure 25. Opening page of Book VIII by Joyce, of the 1799 edition of William Enfield's *The Institutes of Natural Philosophy, Theoretical and Experimental* (Johnson, 1st edn., 1785).

The advertisement for the revised and updated 1799 version is signed 'the editor' and the evidence that it was Joyce comes from two sources. Firstly, Robert Aspland's list of Joyce's publications.³⁶ Secondly, there is a curious work signed by Joyce and credited to him by the Dr. Williams Library, to whom it was donated, entitled *A Short Introduction to Magnetism, Electricity and the First Principles of Chemistry*, whose publishing details are only 'London 1799', but which contains exactly the same sections on Magnetism, Electricity and Chemistry as those which appear in the 1799 edition of Enfield's *Institutes*. (Figure 26). Joyce donated a copy of the sheets of these sections in which he made his most significant changes to the *Institutes* for use in Dr. Williams Library which then had them bound. Joyce's new Chemistry section did not survive long however. It was subsequently removed from the later American editions as 'it was found defective' and 'not used in seminaries', no doubt partly due to its adherence to the, by then outdated phlogiston theory.³⁷

The process of transfer to the new chemistry in England at the end of the eighteenth century has not received the same scrutiny by scholars that the absorption of French chemistry has within the community of Scottish chemists.³⁸ Study of Joyce's chemistry section in the *Institutes* goes some way to address this deficiency as it reveals the influences of French chemistry in an English didactic text, and exhibits how the two competing theories - Priestley's and Lavoisier's - were presented to young scholars. Joyce's section on Chemistry comes in the period when French chemistry - particularly that of Lavoisier - was being negotiated, resisted and absorbed by the chemical research community in Britain. This was the period of the 'chemical revolution' in which Lavoisier's chemistry which held oxygen and hydrogen as the components of water and types of air as discrete types of gases separated by heat, gained ground over Priestley's theory of phlogiston.

³⁶Aspland, *Memoir*, p. 704.

³⁷*Institutes* (Boston: Cummings, Hilliard & Co, 1824), p. ix, fn.

³⁸Jan Golinski, *Science as Public Culture* (Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 133.

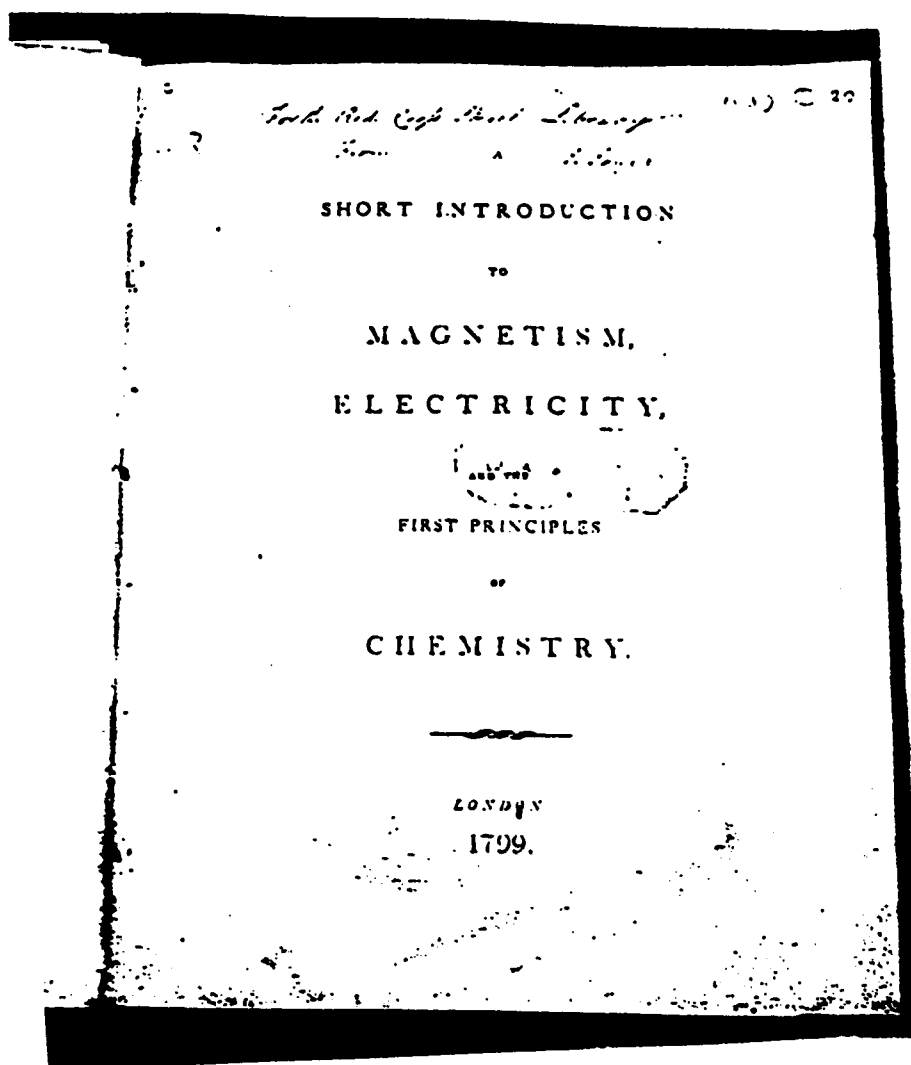


Figure 26. Joyce's hand-signed copy of his *Short Introduction to Magnetism and Electricity and the First Principles of Chemistry* 1799. This text formed the majority of the additions to the 1799 edition of Enfield's *Institutes*.

One of the interesting features of Joyce's treatment and presentation of chemistry is the ambiguity over the status of the scientific knowledge he presents. On the one hand his text assumes that there is a single scientific explanation of a particular phenomenon. On the other hand, he invites the young reader, through his presentation of alternative phlogiston and oxygen theories, to consider two different explanations of the same phenomenon. This ambiguity is not recognised as an issue within the text itself. Indeed, the existence of alternative theories is treated as evidence of the richness and interest of chemistry as a subject.

In discussing 'Inflammable air', which Joyce notes is called 'hydrogenous gas' by the 'French Chemists', Joyce records two explanations for the production of 'inflammable air' from the decomposition of water as it is either passed through an extremely hot metal tube or thrown onto iron 'strongly heated'. Joyce writes:

It should be noted that the two parties into which chemists are divided do not agree on their theories on these facts : the one, with Dr. Priestley at their head, contends that the air comes from the metal; the other [French Chemists], that it is really a constituent part of the water.³⁹

The reader is invited into the controversy rather than being excluded from it and Joyce, ostensibly at least, adopts a neutral position over which is the most persuasive explanation. Similarly, the contrasting ideas of Lavoisier and Priestley are handled together in the section entitled 'Of Dephlogisticated or Vital Air'.

This air is called, in the nomenclature of Lavoisier, oxygene, or oxigenous gas. It was first discovered by Dr. Priestley on the first of August, 1774 and called by him dephlogisticated air.⁴⁰

³⁹*Institutes* (1799), p. 410/411.

⁴⁰*Institutes* (1799), p. 412.

In general, however, Joyce relies more on French chemistry throughout and adopts the nomenclature of oxygene and hydrogene, although he introduces Priestley where possible and always casts him as the world's leading chemical discoverer.

In Joyce's advertisement to the 1799 edition, chemistry is introduced 'on the suggestion of a friend on whose judgement the public has long placed great confidence', with the purpose of making modern chemistry 'intelligible to any person who may be desirous of further prosecuting the study of this amusing and useful science'.⁴¹ There is no hard evidence to establish the identity of Joyce's 'friend' but the most obvious candidate is William Nicholson (1753-1815). Joyce plundered Nicholson's chemistry and natural philosophy manuals in his later work as a compiler and it was Nicholson's *An Introduction to Natural Philosophy* (1782), which provided a model for much of Joyce's *Scientific Dialogues* (1800-1803).⁴² Nicholson produced a considerable number of scientific textbooks in which he introduced French science and he translated Fourcroy's *Elements of Natural History and Chemistry* (1790) and Chaptal's *Elements of Chemistry* (1795).

The *Institutes* was dedicated to Priestley with whom Enfield had a long relationship but difficult relationship.⁴³ Warrington's curriculum had included chemistry as part of its third year courses since the 1760s and it was through Priestley's connection with dissenting academies that his chemical work secured much of its audience.⁴⁴ Enfield's original 1785 preface however, claimed that the object of 'mechanic philosophy' was to investigate the general laws of nature, whereas chemistry investigated 'the specific differences of bodies', and that chemistry was 'too imperfectly understood to be put into a system'.⁴⁵ As Joseph Johnson was Priestley's friend and publisher,

⁴¹*Institutes* (1799), p. xi.

⁴²William Nicholson *An Introduction to Natural Philosophy* (Johnson, 1782, 4th ed. 1796).

⁴³Robert Schofield, *The Enlightenment of Joseph Priestley* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), p. 223.

⁴⁴Golinski, p. 54.

⁴⁵*Institutes* (1785), p. v.

Joyce's addition of a chemical section may have addressed a shortcoming in the *Institutes* recognised by the Unitarian community who held Priestley and his work in high regard. Furthermore, an updated version of the *Institutes* provided an opportunity to present recent discoveries. By 1799 Enfield's *Institutes* was 16 years old and as well as excluding chemistry, it did not contain the new discoveries by Herschel in astronomy, much of Priestley's work, the lesser known work by Delaval on the theory of colour, Cavallo on magnetism and electricity and Blair on achromatic lenses.

Enfield's original is laid out under the system of definitions, propositions, scholia, corollaries and experiments - consistent with Newton's presentation in the *Principia*. Joyce kept this format but was not constrained by it where he felt the need to make changes. Throughout the 1799 edition Joyce presented more tables of information, added more description and more experimental data. For instance, in both the original and the 1799 edition, proposition five of the first section on matter and its properties begins:

The attribution of cohesion takes place between two solid bodies of the same kind, and the more perfect the contact the greater attraction.⁴⁶

The original then gives a list of demonstrating experiments including:-

4. Two plates of lead with equal plane surfaces, heated in boiling water, and immediately put together with Tallow on their surfaces, will cohere so forcibly as to require a great weight to separate them.⁴⁷

Whereas Joyce has substituted this one sentence with:-

⁴⁶ibid., (1785 & 1799).

⁴⁷ibid., (1785).

M.Mussenbrock found that the adhesion of polished planes, about two inches in diameter, heated in boiling water, and smeared with grease, required the following weights to separate them. ⁴⁸

Then adding a table indicating the weight required to force the two planes apart in the cases of a range of different materials and two temperatures of grease:

Planes of		Cold grease	Hot Grease
	Glass	130lbs	300lbs
	Brass	150	800
	Copper	200	850
	Marble	225	600
	Silver	150	250
	Iron	300	950

Joyce did not select work or findings simply on the grounds that they were contemporary and in this case used the work of Mussenbrock from the 1730s to provide more precise and a greater range of information. Joyce's selection of material was often based on what was to hand and what provided the material for the presentational developments he sought, rather than on the contemporary relevance of the material itself. In general however, contemporary discoveries were added throughout. To the original section on pneumatics describing the syphon, the syringe, the common pump, the forcing pump, the condenser and the air pump, Joyce added sections on the barometer, the thermometer, the hygrometer, the steam engine and the hydrometer.⁴⁹ The section on Electricity is heavily updated and contains many more detailed experiments including those of

⁴⁸ibid., (1799), p. 6.

⁴⁹ibid., (1799), pp. 126-132.

Cavallo and several by Earl Stanhope. Similarly the section on Magnetism is developed considerably and the original's opening definition:

That mineral substance which is called the loadstone, or Magnet, has the property of attracting iron, and no other body whatever unless it has a mixture of iron.⁵⁰

becomes split into two definitions:

Definition 1. The Earth contains a mineral substance which attracts iron, steel and all ferruginous substance: this is called a natural magnet.

Definition 2. The same substance has the power to communicate its properties to all ferruginous bodies: these bodies after having acquired the magnetical properties, are called artificial magnets.⁵¹

Joyce's modernisation attempted to provide more detailed presentation of scientific knowledge, an account of recent discoveries and more precise and explicit definitions of scientific terms. He tried to explain scientific claims and phenomenon and put the subject under discussion into plain language and he tried to give tangible illustrations of phenomena that appeal, where possible, to the likely experience of the reader. In a discussion about the emission of heat when a substance passes from a fluid to an 'aeriform' state, Joyce explains the phenomena in terms of human perspiration:-

Hence perspiration produces a certain degree of cold. Workmen employed on glasshouses, foundries, &c, live in a medium much hotter than their own bodies, the natural temperature of which is equalised by perspiration. Hence all fevers end in perspiration, thereby carrying off the matter of heat.⁵²

⁵⁰ibid., (1785), p. 337.

⁵¹ibid., (1799), p. 354.

⁵²ibid., (1799), p. 405.

Through Joyce's update of the *Institutes* and his efforts to modernise, to find interesting ways of engaging his reader and to use accessible language, he developed the skills he would use through the following years.

6.3.2 Scientific Dialogues

Joyce's most famous work is the *Scientific Dialogues* (1800-03) which was published until 1892.⁵³ The *Scientific Dialogues* maintained their commercial success and were edited and updated by 'a gentleman of high scientific reputation' (1821), by Olinthus Gregory (1829), by William Pinnock (1846), by J.W.Griffith (1846), by C.V.Walker (1846), by J.H.Pepper (1861) and by J.A.Smith (1868). The first two volumes on Mechanics and Astronomy were quickly translated into French by Theodore Pierre Bertin and entitled *Le Neuton de la Jeunesse* (1804-5) and all six volumes were translated into French, German and Welsh. They were used as a school book prize for the Calcutta School Book Society (1818) and the Ashburton School book prize scheme (1853); they were heavily published in the American market, became part of the well known Bohn's Scientific Library and moved from being titled *Scientific Dialogues* to *Joyce's Scientific Dialogues*. (Figure 27).

⁵³Jeremiah Joyce, *Scientific Dialogues Intended for the Instruction and Entertainment of Young People: in which the first Principles of Natural and Experimental Philosophy are fully explained* (Johnson, 1800-03)

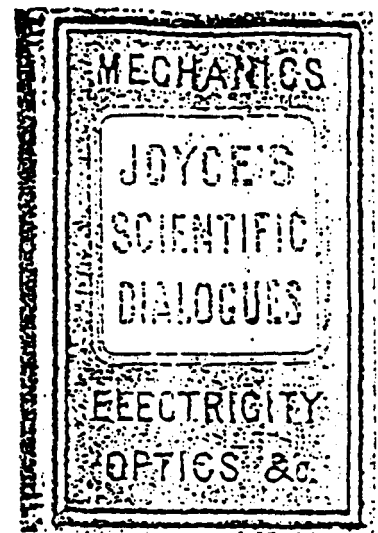
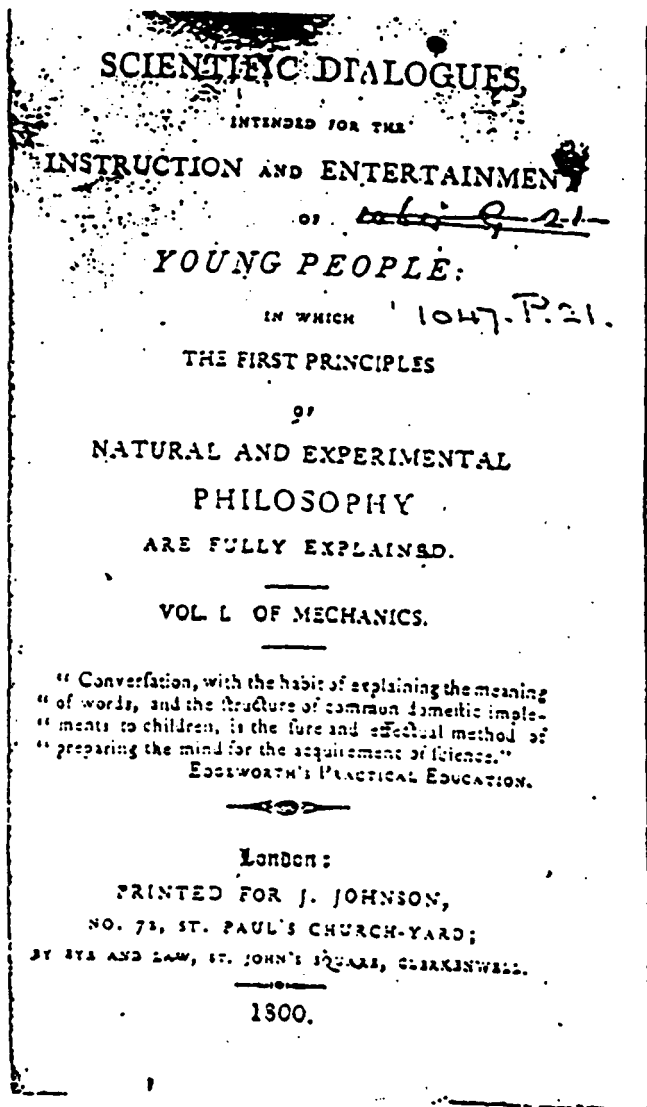


Figure 27. Title page of the first edition of *Joyce Scientific Dialogues* published by Johnson and the cover of an 1851 edition published by Milner in Halifax.

The *Dialogues* were enjoyed by the young John Stuart Mill, John Ruskin, and the educationalist Joseph Payne, but were rejected by both the social reformer James Mill and the high church Bishop Heber.⁵⁴ The extent of their success in the nineteenth century is revealed by the novelist Wilkie Collins who used Joyce's *Scientific Dialogues* as part of a plot in his novel *No Name* (1862). Wilkie has his con-man Captain Wragge, who is trying to bamboozle a lady devoted to science, develop a cunning plot with his accomplice Magdalen to obtain her affections with 'ready-made science':

Mind one thing! I have been at Joyce's Scientific Dialogues all the morning: and I am quite serious in meaning to give Mrs. Lecount the full benefit of my studies...Small talk won't succeed with that woman; compliments won't succeed - ready made science may recall the deceased professor, and ready-made science may do. We must establish a code of signals to let you know what I am about. Observe this camp stool. When I shift from my left hand to my right, I am talking Joyce. When I shift it from my right hand to my left, I am talking Wragge.⁵⁵

The six volumes of the *Dialogues* and *The Companion to the Scientific Dialogues* (1807) - a series of questions designed to test students on the contents of the *Dialogues* - were appropriated by new and different reading audiences through the nineteenth century.⁵⁶ The individual volumes of the *Dialogues* were sold at 2s 6d each and were therefore very low-priced books.⁵⁷

Nevertheless, for a slim educational book which was one of a series which would cost 15s, the

⁵⁴John Stuart Mill *Autobiography*, In H.J Laskii (ed.), (Oxford University Press, 1924), p.14; John Ruskin, *Praeterita* (Rupert Hart-Davis, 1949), p. 42; R. Aldrich, *Schools and Society in Victorian Britain: Joseph Payne and the New World of Education* (Garland, 1995), p. 201; *The life of Reginald Heber*, vol. 1 (Murray, 1830), p. 365.

⁵⁵Wilkie Collins, *No Name* (Blond, 1966), p. 283.

⁵⁶Jeremiah Joyce, *The Companion to the Scientific Dialogues* (Johnson, 1807)

⁵⁷Simon Eliot, 'Some Trends in British Book Production' in *Literature in the Marketplace*, ed. by J.O.Jordan & R.L.Patten (Cambridge University Press, 1995), 19-43, p. 39.

price was not insignificant and would have restricted sales mainly to the middle classes. Its price fell significantly through the nineteenth century however, to 2s 6d for all volumes in one. As part of the expanding market for educational literature, their audience moved from the mainly middle and upper class audiences of 'young people of ten or eleven years of age', whose parents were the most likely to purchase the works, to an audience which included older age groups and readers from lower social classes.⁵⁸ Whilst beyond the scope of this thesis, the series of editions of the *Scientific Dialogues*, reveals the process of reformulation of scientific knowledge for popular audiences and offers an interesting chronology of the development of scientific discourse.⁵⁹

The *Dialogues* are not unusual in their choice of subjects and their list of sections on Mechanics, Astronomy, Hydrostatics, Pneumatics, Optics, Magnetism, Electricity and Galvanism - were the staple of many of the lectures on, introductions to, and institutes of, natural philosophy at the time Joyce was writing. What was unusual however, was the production of six slim and relatively affordable pocket-size (duodecimo), volumes on different scientific subjects. Volume 1 covered mechanics, volume 2 astronomy, volume 3 hydrostatics, volume 4 pneumatics, volume 5 optics and volume 6 magnetism, electricity and galvanism. Many other contemporary works on elementary science covering the same range of subjects were either quarto or octavo, were less portable, did not fit in a child's hands so easily. Considered as a marketing strategy, a series of cheaper volumes offered the dual benefit of increasing sales and turnover, at the same time as enabling the publisher to test the water - if the first volumes were not profitable the project could be abandoned without further cost.⁶⁰

⁵⁸*Scientific Dialogues* (1800), preface.

⁵⁹An analysis of the changing presentation of science in the series of editions of the *Dialogues* could be developed using the model offered by Jim Secord in his 'Newton in the Nursery: Tom Telescope and the philosophy of Tops and Balls, 1761-1838'. *Hist. Sci.* 23 (1985): 127-151.

⁶⁰Plant, p. 232.

Joyce's craft was to present such subjects to children and he borrowed from a range of existing texts for ideas and subject matter. His major source was William Nicholson's *Introduction to Natural Philosophy* (Johnson, 1782). The sequence of subjects is nearly exactly the same and many of the same experiments, analogies and references come in the same place in the two works.

Joyce's opening paragraph presents the *Dialogues* as appropriate material for children after having read the children's book *Evenings at Home* (1792-6), written by Joyce's fellow Unitarians John Aikin (1747-1822) and his sister Anna Laetitia Barbauld (1743-1825), with whom Joyce had much contact. *Evenings at Home* was designed to be both entertaining and instructive and consisted of 96 'evenings' which were a selection of dialogues and entertaining stories with practical and moral lessons.⁶¹ The *Scientific Dialogues* was also designed to be read at home, and the upper class setting implied through the voices of a tutor and two pupils confers authority on the narrative. The pupils names are Charles and James which were the names of Stanhope's two youngest boys. The second volume of the *Dialogues* is dedicated to Charles who died in the Peninsular campaign. The setting of the *Dialogues* is therefore Joyce's own history - as tutor to an aristocrat's children - and much of the appeal of the *Dialogues* rests on this aristocratic setting. The setting and similarly the characters, are not developed however, but merely act as vehicles for didactic instruction. As Joyce worked over Nicholson's text he developed a presentation of science that he felt would appeal to the imagination of children. Consistent with many science textbooks of the period his first substantial section follows the presentational sequence of discussing the properties of matter, considering the divisibility of matter and then theories of attraction (gravity). In many contemporary texts the question of the infinite divisibility of matter is dealt with and Joyce seizes

⁶¹Aileen Fyfe, 'How the Squirrel became a Squigg: The Long History of a Children's Book', *Paradigm* 27 (1999): 26-37.

on the opportunity to use the imaginative potential of the issue. Nicholson's original, which introduces the notion of the infinitely small as a way considering infinite divisibility, reads:

The animalculae observed in the milt of a cod-fish are so small, that many thousands of them might stand on the point of a needle.⁶²

Joyce develops this image and crafts it to appeal to a child's imagination whilst invoking the authority of scientists and directing the analogy to a specific end.

Tutor: Again, it is said by those who have used the most powerful microscopes, and whose accuracy can be relied on, that there are more animals in the milt of a single cod fish, than there are men on the whole earth, and that a single grain of sand is larger than four million of these animals. Now, if it be admitted that these little animals are possessed of organised parts, such as a heart, stomach, muscles, veins, arteries, &c., and that they are possessed of a system of circulating fluids, similar to those found in larger animals, we seem to approach to an idea of the infinite divisibility of matter.

This is a typical example of Joyce's treatment. He followed Nicholson's sequence of ideas and transforms Nicholson's text into dialogue form.

The *Dialogues* continued the development of a commercial book culture aimed at children begun in the early eighteenth century. They were in the popular form of conversations which used dramatic and fictional narrative to present scientific knowledge 'for the instruction and entertainment of young people'.⁶³ They continued John Newbery's technique in *The Newtonian System of Philosophy* (1761), of setting scientific knowledge in a discourse of entertainment.⁶⁴ *The Newtonian System* was aimed at a popular audience and the *Scientific Dialogues* is situated in the same lineage of popular science works. Comparison of Joyce's and Newbery's headings show

⁶²Nicholson, *Introduction*, p. 12.

⁶³*Dialogues*, Title page - all editions.

⁶⁴Secord, p. 129.

developments in the selection of the knowledge considered appropriate for children. Newbery's chapters range over Newton, cosmology, the organic and inorganic worlds and, crucially, the mechanics of understanding. Joyce's chapters, by contrast, are a subdivision of Newbery's and are limited to what has come to be recognised as physics and astronomy.

Joyce culled many ideas from prestigious authorities. In his preface to the *Dialogues* he says that 'he is solely indebted for the idea of writing on the subject of Natural Philosophy for the use of children', to the authors of *Practical Education* - Richard Lovell Edgeworth (1744-1817) and his daughter Maria (1767-1849). Richard Edgeworth had initially been influenced by Rousseau's educational thought but became more interested in the pragmatic approaches of the Lunar society.⁶⁵ In *Practical Education* Rousseauian notions of the sanctity of the natural virtue and purity of the child, are firmly rejected in favour of the pedagogical formulations of Locke, Hartley and Priestley and the inculcation of appropriate 'habits'. However, the Edgeworths' sensitivity towards the correct management of external pressures on the child, their concern to avoid corruption of the child, and their focus on the child's 'feeling' in a process of learning in which children have to learn for themselves by direct experience rather than through abstracted discussion, carried distinctly Rousseauian flavours.

One of the Edgeworths' most important contributions to educational thinking was the focus on the developmental sequence of children's learning. They focused on play as a way of learning and a means of capturing a child's interest. For instance, for the elementary teaching of chemistry, they recommended that 'chemical toys' be purchased from a 'rational toy shop' in order to develop 'rational recreations'.⁶⁶ The concern to engage the child in a process of learning by doing and feeling is a process that Joyce adopted throughout his educational writings and is exhibited in many of the

⁶⁵Marilyn Butler, *Maria Edgeworth* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), p. 59.

⁶⁶Richard Lovell Edgeworth & Maria Edgeworth, *Practical Education* 2 vols (1st edn., Johnson, 1798). Reprinted in facsimile (New York: Garland, 1974), vol. 1, p. 25/6.

experiments demonstrated in the *Scientific Dialogues*. That the process should be constructed as rational and that the objects of play be similarly considered as rational, is consistent with Joyce's belief in reason both as a means of understanding the world and as expressing God's creation.

Joyce loudly announced his debt to the Edgeworths' chapter 'on Mechaniks' in *Practical Education* and he quoted from it at length in the preface and on the title page. This chapter urges and justifies the teaching of 'Mechanick Powers' in order to achieve both a 'scientific and exact' knowledge of pulleys, levers and the wedge, and an understanding of the meaning of scientific terms in 'order that an instantaneous idea be excited in our minds'.⁶⁷ In Joyce's preface he left it to a 'candid public' to decide 'How far his plan corresponds with that suggested with that suggested by Mr Edgeworth in his chapter on Mechanics'. However, the *Dialogues* bears little resemblance to the plan laid out by the Edgeworths. Joyce's *Dialogues* range over a much wider territory than pulleys and levers, encompassing a wide range of subjects from Newtonian physics to electricity and galvanism. His debt to *Practical Education* as a formative influence in his decision to write the *Dialogues* may therefore be more of a claim of support for his book through precedent and the authority of respectable educational writers.

6.3.3 Dialogues in Chemistry

On 25 March 1807 Joyce dedicated his *Dialogues in Chemistry intended for the Instruction and Entertainment of Young People In Which The First Principles Of That Science Are Fully Explained. To Which are added Questions And Other Exercises For The Examination Of Pupils* (1807), to the 'learned and eloquent' Sir Humphry Davy. These *Dialogues* were intended as an 'easy and familiar' introduction to Davy's lectures at the Royal Institution.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ibid., vol. 2, p. 453.

⁶⁸Jeremiah Joyce, *Dialogues in Chemistry intended for the Instruction and Entertainment of Young People In Which The First Principles Of That Science Are Fully Explained. To Which are*

Davy's lectures were to establish chemistry as a component of polite education.⁶⁹ The popularity of chemistry engendered a considerable market for a variety of merchandise sold to amateur chemical experimentalists.⁷⁰ Joyce's *Dialogues in Chemistry* was one of a plethora of chemistry manuals and textbooks aimed at middle class children which also appeared. Jane Marcet's hugely successful elementary *Conversations on Chemistry* designed as a popular exposition of Davy's lectures, was published in the same year (1806), and Samuel Parkes' *Chemical Catechism* (1802) was already firmly established.⁷¹ For older readers, William Nicholson's translations of Chaptal and Fourcroy popularised French chemistry and had been available through the 1790s, and the Scottish writer and chemistry lecturer, Thomas Thomson, published his influential *A System of Chemistry* in 1802.⁷² Joyce's fellow Unitarian, the Manchester physician and chemist William Henry, had published his *Epitome of Chemistry* (1801, 2nd ed.), and Joyce positioned his *Dialogues in Chemistry* in relation to such substantial works by advertising them as 'easy and complete introductions to the more elaborate works of Henry, Thomson and others'.⁷³

The drama of metropolitan scientific performances at the Royal Institution, combined with the aristocratic setting of the *Dialogues* and the relative novelty of chemical knowledge deliberately formulated for children, built an appealing commercial product. Joyce's presentational and narrative formula was the same as he had used in the *Scientific Dialogues*, in which the voices of

added Questions And Other Exercises For The Examination Of Pupils (Johnson, 1807), dedication page.

⁶⁹Golinski, p. 241.

⁷⁰Brian Dolan, 'The Language of Experiment in Chemical Textbooks', in *Communicating Chemistry: Textbooks and Their Audiences 1789-1939*, ed. by Anders Lundgren & Bernadette Bensaude-Vincent (Canton, MA: Watson Publishing International, 2000), pp. 141-164.

⁷¹Jane Marcet, *Conversations on Chemistry* (Longmans, 1806); Samuel Parkes *Chemical Catechism* (For the Author, 1802).

⁷²Thomas Thomson, *A System of Chemistry* (Edinburgh: Bell & Bradfute, 1802)

⁷³*Dialogues in Chemistry*, advertisement, p. x; William Henry, *Epitome of Chemistry* (Johnson, 2nd ed. 1801).

Charles and James were contrived to provide a platform for the didactic lessons of the tutor. By 1807 the *Scientific Dialogues* were into their third edition and from a publishing perspective, it was a reasonable speculation to extend the elementary dialogue to capture some of the market for chemistry. 'Dialogues in', like 'conversations on', or 'catechisms', were recognisable brands of elementary texts designed to appeal to potential purchasers.

In the same year that Joyce published *Dialogues in Chemistry* (1807), Humphry Davy announced his discovery of the elements Sodium and Potassium using his voltaic pile. Joyce included this new discovery in his first edition and emphasised the sense of progress. In the opening conversation Joyce presented Thomson's table of simple substances which lists potass and soda as simple (Figure 28), but then immediately introduced Davy's discovery and offers a new list which shows that potass and soda can be decomposed to even simpler substances (potassium and sodium) through removal of oxygen. This was very up-to-date knowledge and Joyce was able to utilise both the exciting discoveries and the authority of Davy as part of the appeal of his text. The use of both Thomson and Davy as authorities on chemistry, despite them presenting different tables of simple substances, was consistent with the accepted practices of textbook authorship in which writers were not expected to support particular versions of contested issues: they were expected to appear as humble compilers of ideas and discoveries.⁷⁴ However, Joyce's opening dedication to Davy suggests that he was prepared to support Davy's controversial adoption of the French chemistry of Lavoisier at the expense of the British chemists. The line between the conventions of textbook authorship and enthusiasm for particular scientific views, was easily transgressed and Joyce's choice of what to present as old and what to present as new, whilst justified by the premise of progress, also suggests his preference for French chemistry.

⁷⁴Golinski, p. 257.

NEW ARRANGEMENT OF
SIMPLE SUBSTANCES.

I. OXYGEN.

II. Bodies capable of uniting with oxygen, and forming, with it, various compounds:—

1. Hydrogen, with oxygen, forms Water.

2. Bodies forming, with oxygen, Acids.

Nitrogen, with oxygen, forms nitric acid.
Sulphur sulphuric acid.
Phosphorus phosphoric acid.
Carbon carbonic acid.
Boracium boracic acid.
Fluorium fluoric acid.
Muriatum muriatic acid.

3. Metallic bodies forming Alkalies.

Potassium, with oxygen, forms potass.
Sodium soda.
Ammonium ammonia.

4. Metallic bodies forming Earths.

Calcium, with oxygen, forms lime.
Magnium magnesia.
Barium barytes.
Strontium strontites.

Silicium silex.
Alumium alumina.
Yttrium yttria.
Glucium glucina.
Zirconium zirconia.

5. Metals naturally metallic, or which yield their oxygen to carbon, or heat, alone.

(1.) Malleable Metals.

Gold.	Mercury.	Lead.
Platina.	Tin.	Nickel.
Palladium.	Copper.	Zinc.
Silver.	Iron.	

(2.) Brittle Metals.

Arsenic.	Cobalt.	Uranium.
Bismuth.	Tungsten.	Columbium.
Antimony.	Molybdenum.	Iridium.
Manganese.	Titanium.	Osmium.
Tellurium.	Chromium.	Rhodium.

TABLE OF SIMPLE SUBSTANCES.

I. CONFINABLE BODIES.

Oxygen.	Hydrogen.
Sulphur.	Acetic, or Nitrogen.
Phosphorus.	Muriatic Acid.
Carbon, or Diamond.	

METALS.

Gold.	Cobalt.
Platinum.	Manganese.
Silver.	Tungsten.
Mercury.	Bismuth.
Copper.	Antimony.
Iron.	Molybdenum.
Tin.	Uranium.
Lead.	Titanium.
Nickel.	Chromium.
Zinc.	Columbium.
Tellurium.	Tantalum, and perhaps
Arsenic.	others.

ALKALIES.

Potash.	Soda.
---------	-------

EARTHS.

Barytes.	Yttria.
Strontian.	Glucina.
Lime.	Zirconia.
Magnesia.	Silica.
Alumina.	

II. UNCONFINABLE BODIES.

Light.	Electricity.
Caloric.	Magnetism.

Figure 28. Sequential pages from Joyce's *Dialogues in Chemistry* 1807 (pp. 8-10) showing both Thomson's and Davy's tables of simple substances.

6.3.4 Dialogues on the Microscope

In 1812 Johnson's successor, Rowland Hunter, published Joyce's *Dialogues on the Microscope intended for the Instruction and Entertainment of Young Persons, Desirous of investigating the minuter parts of creation*.⁷⁵ These two small 12 mo volumes continue the dialogue series using the narrative formula of father and his two sons, Charles and James. In contrast to both the *Scientific Dialogues* and *Dialogues in Chemistry*, which only sparingly mention a deity at critical points, the *Dialogues on the Microscope* relentlessly deployed natural theology. Joyce's advertisement is typical in its use of the design argument which appears on nearly every page, and asserts that the microscope:

...has opened to our view those hidden recesses of nature, which are at once calculated to excite the attention and reward the industry of persons desirous of inquiring into the works of the almighty, which are the true sources of real knowledge, and are calculated to afford the human intellect abundance of interesting employment.⁷⁶

Joyce made liberal and direct use of Paley's *Natural Theology* (1802), throughout and in his advertisement Joyce also acknowledged his sources as Hooke, Baker, Adams and 'the costly, but interesting volumes of Dr. Shaw'. Joyce argued that the microscope offered a means of observing the works of creation beyond those open to the wise Solomon, and showed that what might 'appear as deformities [such as mould and mildew], actually contained, as it were, whole forests of trees and plants'. The microscope offered a means of 'investigating the nature, habits and economy, of millions of beings actually existing, and enjoying the happiness in the earth'.⁷⁷

⁷⁵Jeremiah Joyce, *Dialogues on the Microscope intended for the Instruction and Entertainment of Young Persons, Desirous of investigating the minuter parts of creation*.⁷⁵ (Johnson & Co., 1812).

⁷⁶*Dialogues on the microscope*, advertisement, p. v.

⁷⁷*ibid.*, p. vi/vii.

The text covers the use of the microscope to observe creation, the history of the microscope, the mechanics of human vision and the optical principles on which the microscope works. It contains sections on individual microscopes - Withering's microscope, Wilson's pocket microscope and Ellis's single and aquatic microscope. Joyce covered the anatomy of leaves, bones and hair and discusses 'the circulation of the blood' and 'vegetable physiology'. He dwelt on the 'analogy between plants and animals' and had a lengthy section which argued that plants were 'capable of perception and enjoyment' on the grounds that some plants (Joyce uses the examples of the honeysuckle and the water lily), respond to stimuli.⁷⁸

In the first decades of the nineteenth century the doctrine of spontaneous generation was gaining ground despite opposition from many British scientists.⁷⁹ For a Unitarian, like Joyce, the doctrine was anathema primarily because it endowed nature with the power of creation and removed the intelligent hand of God; it was therefore an atheistic doctrine. Possibly responding to Erasmus Darwin's famous poem *Zoonomia*, whose particulate theory of evolution was primarily influenced by Buffon, Joyce presented and then dismissed Buffon's theory of organic particles in a telling passage.⁸⁰ In discussing 'animalcules', Joyce has Charles set up the controversy:

Charles: Have not some philosophers denied the existence of these animalcules?

Father: They have: Buffon and others have concluded that they are substances not really endowed with life, but that they are something proper to compose a living animal, and these philosophers distinguish them by the name of "organic particles:" and they include in this description almost every animal to be discovered by the naked eye, and even some of those whose motions are evidently perceptible to the naked eye. Buffon observes, that

⁷⁸ibid., contents & vol. 2, pp. 194-212

⁷⁹John Farley, *The Spontaneous Generation Controversy: From Descartes to Oparin* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), p. 45.

⁸⁰Maureen McNeil, *Under the Banner of Science: Darwin and the idea of progress* (Manchester University Press, 1987), p. 98.

almost all microscopic animals are of the same nature with the moving bodies in infusions of animal and vegetable substances. The eels in paste, &c., are all of the same nature and derived from the same origin.

James: How is this opinion refuted?

Father: Most satisfactorily by the experiments of Baker, Ellis, Muller and others.

Mr. Baker, for instance has by means of the solar microscope, so magnified eels found in paste, that they appeared each an inch and a half in diameter: they swam up and down very briskly, and even the motion of their intestines was visible.

While they were immersed in water, they appeared easy and contented; but when the fluid had nearly evaporated, the little eels died, in apparent agonies, with open mouths as if gasping for that element which was essential for their existence. Which is a clear proof, that they were living animals imbued with similar wants and similar feelings to animals of a much larger kind.⁸¹

James's question assumes the existence of the refutation Joyce proceeds to give and acts as a mechanism through which Joyce can direct his appeal to the design of nature. For Joyce, the Creator has both created the creatures of the world and provided for their vital needs. The image Joyce presents is one of the microscopic world being constructed with the same design and constraints as the visible world in which the hand of God is clearly seen.

The *Dialogues on the Microscope* had a different commercial and educational appeal from Joyce's other dialogues. 6 of the 10 plates included were attractive botanical and insect illustrations (Figure 29a), and part of the target market was the very popular market for illustrated natural history books. However, various types of microscope were also illustrated (Figure 29b), and the book acted as a practical manual for the use of microscopes that might have been given as

⁸¹ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 90-92.

6.3.5 Letters on Natural and Experimental Philosophy

Joyce's *Letters On Natural And Experimental Philosophy Addressed To A Youth Settling In The Metropolis* (1810), was also co-published in a second edition by Johnson's successor Rowland Hunter (1821), and the firm of Baldwin, Cradock and Joy, suggesting that the title was considered to have sufficient commercial potential for both parties.⁸² (Figure 29).

In Joyce's advertisement to the first edition he said that he had been persuaded to produce the work, by his friend 'the late excellent Mr Johnson' despite his initial 'hesitation'. His hesitation, he said, was due to his not wishing to repeat the contents of the *Scientific Dialogues* and *Dialogues in Chemistry*. However, this book was aimed at an older audience than the *Scientific Dialogues* and Johnson may have been speculating on a potential new market. 'Youths settling in the metropolis' might have included apprentices from the age of twelve, as well as wealthier young men of up to 21, but Joyce probably had the middle classes in mind as the book is aimed at a youth who 'has lately emerged from a school, and who was likely to attend 'the lectures delivered at the Royal'.⁸³ The literary contrivance of 'Letters' for the purpose of instruction of young men leaving home and liable to 'the seductions of the world', was well established.⁸⁴ Philip Dormer Stanhope the 4th Earl of Chesterfield's, *Letters to his Son* (1744), had achieved by 1810, a publication history of over 60 years and had been adapted, selected from and developed into systems of education by a large number of authors and publishers.⁸⁵ Joyce's *Letters of Natural Philosophy* contains a series of letters under the headings Mechanics, Hydrostatics, Hydraulics, Pneumatics, Acoustics, Optics, Astronomy, Electricity, Galvanism and Magnetism. His first edition also included letters on

⁸²Jeremiah Joyce, *Letters On Natural And Experimental Philosophy Addressed To A Youth Settling In The Metropolis* (Johnson & Co, 1810).

⁸³Joyce, *Letters*, Letter 1, p.1, 2 & 3, 1821 edition.

⁸⁴*ibid.*, p. 2.

⁸⁵BL Catalogue. Philip Dormer Stanhope entry.

Chemistry, Anatomy, Physiology and Botany but these were 'purposely omitted as not properly belonging to a treatise of this kind' from the second edition in 1821.⁸⁶

Joyce was skilful in using the contrivance of 'Letters' and he built his introductory letter through deploying several voices. He opens by using his own voice to directly address the youthful reader. He then used an extract from a letter of an imaginary father of the reader, which requested Joyce to 'secure the integrity and virtue of his son' and provide 'full employment for his mind through interesting him in philosophic pursuits and scientific research'. The voice of the father was made to argue that 'Divested of the form of dialogues, they [The *Letters*] will have the advantage of a certain degree of novelty, while at the same time, they will necessarily bring to his recollection all the leading facts contained in the *Scientific Dialogues*'.⁸⁷ With the project justified by the request of a concerned father, Joyce claimed that he would not 'indulge in any visionary theories' and promised to 'confine myself to principles that are either demonstrable in themselves, or which, having stood the test of examination, are admitted as true'.⁸⁸

The *Letters* was formulated as a self study text with self assessment questions related to each set of letters which were designed to enable the reader 'to examine yourself as to what you have learned from the perusal'.⁸⁹ It was the first work published under Joyce's own name to contain an index and to invite the reader to look up particular subjects on the basis of their own interests. Joyce used colourful stories and images to illustrate his points and often employed a sense of fun. In the hydrostatics section he has Archimedes running naked through the streets shouting "Eureka, Eureka".⁹⁰ When he discussed Lunardi's first British balloon flight and the descent of

⁸⁶Joyce, *Letters*, advertisement to the 2nd edition.

⁸⁷*ibid.*, p. 2.

⁸⁸*ibid.*, p. 3.

⁸⁹*ibid.*, p. 4.

⁹⁰*ibid.*, p. 114.

LETTERS
...
NATURAL AND EXPERIMENTAL
PHILOSOPHY.

ADAPTED TO A COURSE OF LECTURES IN THE ARTS AND
Illustrated with Numerous Plates

BY THE REV. J. JOYCE,
Author of "Scientific Dialogues,"
&c. &c.

SECOND EDITION,
With numerous corrections and additions.

LONDON:
Printed for BARNES, CAMDEN, & CO.,
PATERNOSTER ROW,
AND FOR R. HOUGHTON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD.
1821.

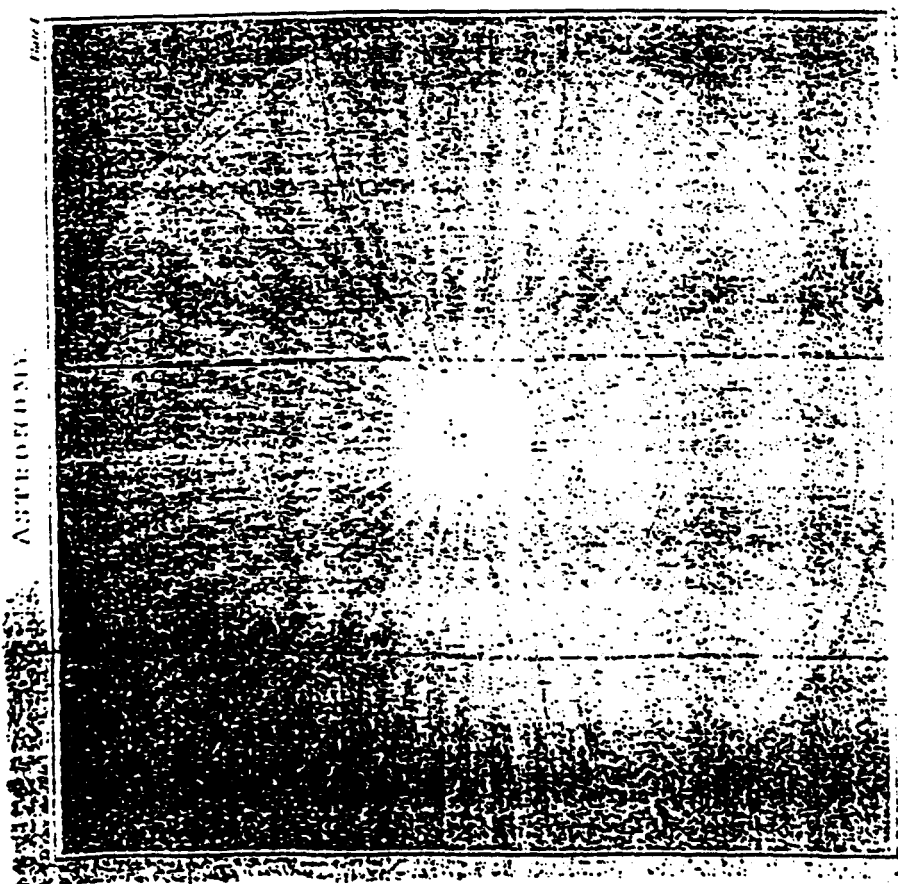


Figure 30. Title page and frontispiece of Joyce's *Letters on Natural and Experimental Philosophy* 1821. 1st ed. 1810.

Garnerin using a parachute, he rhetorically asked 'how is it possible that a person descending from so great a height should be preserved by a parachute from being dashed to pieces?', before explaining the physical principles of air resistance.⁹¹

The literary style of the *Letters* is much more discursive than the simpler didactic style of the dialogues and Joyce's own voice has more literary flourish and personal tones. Many of the same images and analogies that appear in the *Scientific Dialogues* were used in the *Letters*. But the *Letters* assumes an older audience and the direct address to the reader with expressions like 'I shall prove to you that it [the world] has two motions', assumes the reader has more power of discernment and judgement.⁹² The steps in reasoning are made transparent in the train of ideas and the reader is given many more signals which indicate why the issues are addressed as they are.

Having explained to you my plan, and laid before you the topics which I mean particularly to engage your attention, I shall, my friend, without further preface, begin with the subject of mechanics. This science which is intimately connected with the arts of life, leads us to enquire into the forces by which bodies, whether animate or inanimate, may be made to act upon one another, and likewise into the means by which these may be increased, so as to overcome such as are more powerful. As introductory to "mechanics" you must be informed of the nature and properties of matter.⁹³

Joyce was clearly alive to the role of experimentation in the verification of scientific discoveries and he handled claims made on the basis of experiments with considerable sensitivity. Concerning William Herschel and William Hyde Wollaston's discoveries of 'invisible rays' at the extreme ends of the prismatic spectrum revealed through temperature increases and decreases at positions just beyond the spectrum's visible limits, Joyce judged that 'these experiments though extremely

⁹¹ibid., p. 120.

⁹²ibid., p. 6.

⁹³ibid., p. 5.

difficult to make, have been repeated and amply verified'. However, the claims based on experiments made by the Marquis Ridolfi and Professor Playfair, concerning the supposed magnetic properties of violet rays, engendered 'great doubts' concerning 'the justness of these experiments which seem, at least, to stand in need of further trial'.⁹⁴ Given Joyce's advertisement claim that only established discoveries would be presented, the inclusion of discoveries about which there were 'great doubts', is inconsistent. The decision over what, and what not, to include, could not be made simply on the basis of secure and repeated experimental testing. Contemporary ideas, especially if they were a little fantastical and originating from reputable sources, had to be entertained whilst preserving a healthy degree of scepticism.

In his letters on botany Joyce advocated 'the system of Linnaeus for determining species' and 'the system of Jussieu for determining genus and family'.⁹⁵ Joyce thought Jussieu 'a good writer' and his preference for Jussieu's system of determining family and genus based on overall affinities, rather than the simpler and artificial sexual system of Linnaeus, reflected his acceptance of the common idea of a natural series in which the order of the natural world could be shown as a progression from the simple to the complex, in a single chain.⁹⁶ The strength of the sexual system of Linnaeus lay in its practical utility, but its failure lay both in grouping together species which were widely disparate in their general characteristics, and in being unable to create natural groupings on the basis of the self evident similarity in the general appearance of many plants.⁹⁷ Joyce was aware of the debate concerning natural or artificial systems of classification and the shortcomings of each. However, he chose not to re-enforce the divisive features of the debate and

⁹⁴*ibid.*, p. 307.

⁹⁵*ibid.*, p. 406.

⁹⁶F.A. Stafleu, *Linnaeus and the Linnaeans* (Utrecht: International Association for Plant Taxonomy, 1971), p. 328.

⁹⁷D.R. Oldroyd, *Darwinian Impacts* (Milton Keynes: OU Press, 1980), p. 19.

he promoted a combination of Linnean and Jussian ideas in an progressive vision based on the criterion of utility in the pursuit of scientific knowledge.

[By] associating these two great authors, we render them truly serviceable to each other, and to the science, whereas by placing them in opposition, as some have indiscreetly done, we only make stumbling blocks of all their defects; for there must be defects in all attempts of the human intellect to keep pace with the infinite wisdom and variety displayed in the works of God.⁹⁸

For Joyce, human society could, indeed necessarily would given God's divine plan, progress and develop. However, there is no evidence of proto-evolutionary thought in Joyce's writings. Indeed his theological disposition led him to emphasise static and fixed order at all times. He was clearly aware of the existence of acquired and adaptive habits in both animals and plants, but his religious views curtailed any thoughts which challenged the fixity of species. Whilst the efficacy and dominance of the Linnaean system was beginning to weaken by the time Joyce was writing, the theoretical shifts introduced in the field of biology by Lamarck and Cuvier through the inclusion of a temporal axis along which the natural world developed, are not reflected in his textbooks.

Like all Joyce's texts the design argument is fundamental throughout especially in consideration of astronomy and celestial mechanics. His intention was to persuade the reader to witness God's handiwork by tracing, scientifically, the fine details of the mechanics of God's design. Joyce illustrated the theory of gravitation in which 'all bodies are drawn to a central point in the earth' and 'the feet of different people on the globe are nearly opposite to one another', and then goes on to explain how 'the deluge, mentioned in the bible has been accounted for'. If the 'point to which bodies naturally tend' were 'shifted ever so little, it would cause immediate overflowing of the lowlands'. By moving the central point 'only two or three miles' it would be sufficient to 'lay the

⁹⁸Joyce, *Letters*, p. 406.

tops of the highest hills under water'.⁹⁹ The obvious implication is that this was how God caused the deluge - by shifting the centre of gravity of the earth a minute amount. Joyce's use of science is primarily a reflection of his concern to promote his readers to a religious engagement with the world.

6.3.6 Catechism of Nature for the Use of Children.

The Dutch professor of philosophy Johannes Florentius Martinet's *Katechismus der Natuur* (1779), was translated by John Hall in 1790 and became a highly successful title on Johnson's list. The ninth edition, published in 1812, was 'corrected and much enlarged' by Joyce, and the work quickly became known as Joyce's *Catechism of Nature*, reaching its nineteenth edition in 1850 (Figure 31).

The mix of natural and revealed religion and the form and substance of scientific knowledge are intimately interwoven in this text directed at children. Joyce's editorial intrusions and significant additions to Martinet's original, reflect both his pedagogical style and the appearance of relatively new scientific knowledge considered appropriate for children. The *Catechism of Nature* was a natural theology text which used the religious symbolism of the catechism. However, instead of catechising through the authority of the church, the *Catechism of Nature* claimed the authority of the natural world. The book of nature, rather than the bible, was positioned as the source of wonder, learning and witness to God's creation. Martinet's use of 'catechism' in the title, was clearly a religious usage indicating instruction in the knowledge of God. However, the suggestion of a simple doctrinal delivery of information as in a religious catechism, was inconsistent with the interrogatory educational technology the book actually contained. Martinet organised the work as a series of dialogues and instead of employing the voice of authority to interrogate the student, he used the voice of the anonymous pupil, invested with an endless curiosity, to inform a stream of

⁹⁹*Letters*, 1821 edition, p. 27

questions directed to the tutor. The pupil was made to actively interrogate the tutor whose answers appealed to the natural world and served to reveal the divine hand. The positioning of the voice of the pupil as actively demanding answers to their own questions, was a contrivance consistent with the perspective of Puritanism and many forms of religious dissent, which sought a knowledge of, and relationship with God based on individual acceptance and recognition.

Martinet's original was separated into parts under sub-titles, on, for instance, birds, plants and water. Joyce cleverly changed the organisational structure of the work from separated sets of dialogues under sub-titles, to a continual unnamed but numbered, series of dialogues, but he retained the sense of organisation under topics by moving the sub-titles to running headers. This enabled him to add and interject dialogues within a consistently numbered format and avoided the constraints of Martinet's original subdivisions by then 33 years old.

Joyce also imposed his Unitarian perspective. When the pupil asked whether the stars were created 'only for our use', Joyce followed Martinet's original response that 'it is unreasonable to suppose so on account of their vast distance', but added that the stars were 'probably created for the benefit of other rational creatures'.¹⁰⁰ In the opening dialogue Joyce kept the basic programme of observation and witness to God's natural world set in the context of useful learning and the republic of knowledge.

Pup. What may I expect from contemplating the works of nature?

Tut. Both pleasure and profit. As God has formed the eye to behold the beauties of nature, it must be both an agreeable, and useful employment.

Pup. Is this not confined to the learned?

¹⁰⁰*Catechism of Nature for the use of Children*, (Johnson & Co., 1812), Ninth edition, p. 6.

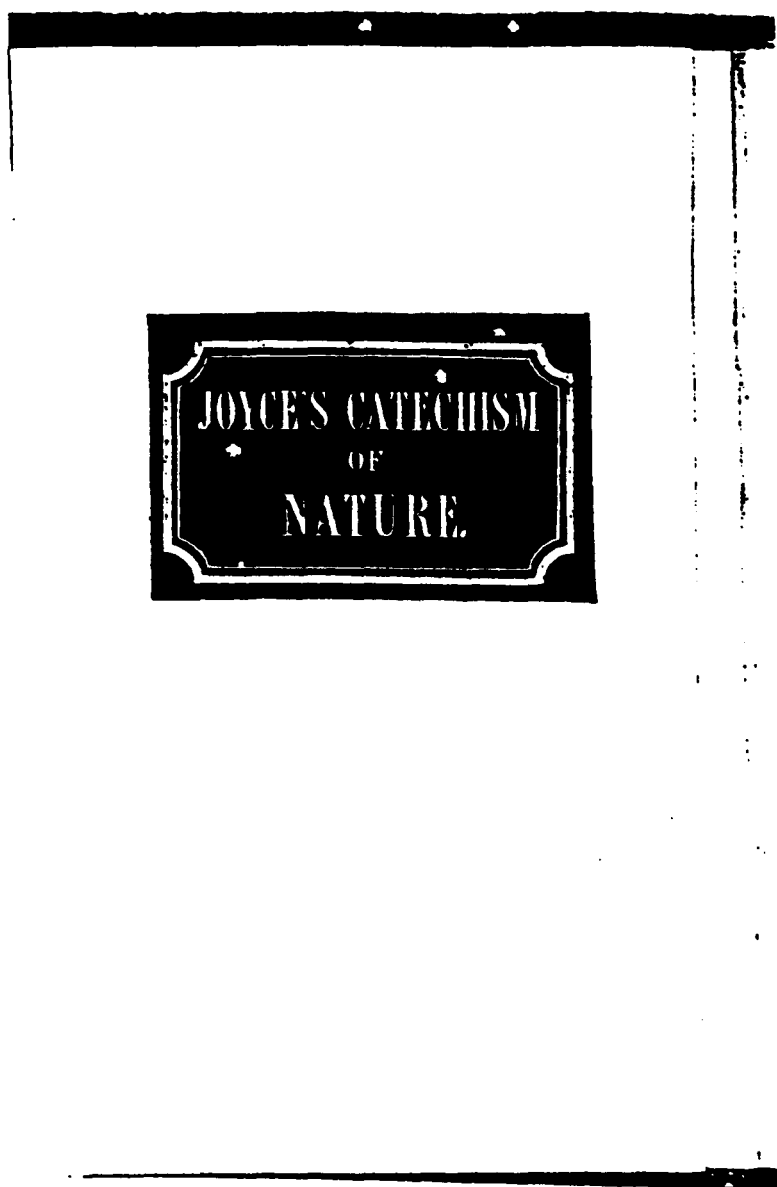


Figure 31. The cover of the 19th edition of Joyce's *Catechism of Nature* (1850) updated by Douglas H. Cambell.

Tut. By no means: the peasant as well as the philosopher may partake of this pleasure. A moderate share of knowledge is sufficient. The creation is open to the view of all: it only requires observation.¹⁰¹

But Joyce adds to the requirement for observation, the need for 'reflection' on creation.¹⁰² By 'reflection' Joyce intends the pupil to think scientifically. This link between reflection and scientific thinking is neatly made by Joyce in the new dialogues he added on the Linnaean and Wernerian classification systems. Joyce's 25 page addition is introduced in Dialogue 20, 'The Linnaean System'.

Pup. You said you would give us an account of the Linnaean system of Natural History.

Tut. I did: because I am desirous that you should not only be impressed with the wonders of the natural world as exhibited in the various facts which I have related, but that you should now begin to reflect upon them in a scientific manner, and according to a certain mode of classification.¹⁰³

Joyce does not expand what he meant by 'scientific manner' here, although his text presented it as something different from observation and something that children can learn. Given Joyce's intellectual and theological inheritance it is reasonable to conclude that Joyce's usage of 'scientific manner', signified the Unitarian requirements for reason in the pursuit of knowledge and called on the grander themes of the enlightenment which promoted scientific enquiry through a balance of observation and reasoning.

That Joyce should choose to enter Linnaean and Wernerean classification systems in 1812, is not particularly surprising given the dominance both of Linnaean ideas in Britain since the mid

¹⁰¹ *ibid.*, (J. Johnson, 1790), p. 3/4. First English edition.

¹⁰² *ibid.*, 9th ed., 1812, p. 4.

¹⁰³ *ibid.*, p. 76.

eighteenth century, and of Wernerian classification of rocks through the later part of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.¹⁰⁴ Linnaeus's static system of classes, orders and genera offered a way of displaying both the order and the finesse of God's handiwork and appealed to the Unitarian mindset. Werner's ideas in historical geology, however, wandered close to Buffon's introduction of time in theories of biological development which Joyce opposed. The implication of evolution, in contrast to fixed creation, was inherent in the idea of the geological periodisation of rocks.

Analysis of the composition of rocks outlined in Werner's *Kurze Klassifikation* (1787), was paralleled in Buffon's *Epoques de la Nature* (1778), which claimed the existence of pre-human periods of earth history. However, as in other places in Joyce's writings where he only selected the ideas of Buffon which he found useful, he selected Werner's mineral classifications system without concern to other aspects of Werner's writings which ran counter to his own vision. Furthermore, mineralogy was beginning to gain a higher profile as it became part of the official curriculum of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge in the second decade of the nineteenth century. Joyce's concern with mineral classification may also have followed Humphry Davy's lead whose interests in mineralogy were reflected in his Royal Institution lectures and tours to collect specimens.¹⁰⁵

Joyce introduced the three divisions of the Linnaean system - the animal, vegetable and mineral kingdoms, but the bulk of his 25 page addition is devoted to Zoology. He first introduced the class of Mammalia and described the resemblance that quadrupeds, whales and humans have in giving birth to live offspring which then suckle. Joyce drew the attention of the pupil to an implication of this classification through the comment that 'it is rather mortifying to have man classed with apes'. He does not develop the point and whilst he has the tutor acknowledge the disturbing implications,

¹⁰⁴F.A. Stafleu, *Linnaeus and the Linnaeans* (Utrecht: International Association for plant taxonomy, 1971), p. 211; Alexander M. Ospovat 'Reflections of A.G. Werner's "Kurze Klassifikation", in *Towards a history of Geology*, ed. by Cecil J. Schneer (Cambridge Mass: M.I.T press, 1969), pp. 242-256 (p. 242).

¹⁰⁵Sir Harold Hartley, *Humphry Davy* (Wakefield: S.R.Publishers, 1971), p. 44.

he supports the classification in the tutor's response - 'Nevertheless, the resemblance is very striking: in the eye-lashes, hands, feet, fingers, toes, nails, and other parts of the body'.¹⁰⁶

Joyce then goes on to describe the orders and genera of the 6 classes Mammalia, Birds, Amphibia, Fishes, Insects and Worms and their defining characteristics within the Linnaean system. In the final dialogue - 'The Linnaean system concluded, and the Wernerian system of mineralogy' - Joyce displays Linnaean taxonomy in an interesting comparison between the vegetable world and the human world as example of the class Mammalia:

Vegetables resemble	Man in general
Classes of	Nations of men.
Orders of	Tribes or divisions of nations
Genera	Families that compose the tribes
Species	Individuals of which Families consist.
Varieties	Individuals under different appearances. ¹⁰⁷

Joyce had an eye for novel facts, intriguing observations and sensational stories which he thought would maintain the interest of his audience and secure his pedagogical goals. To compare the organisation of the human world with the organisation of the vegetable world may well have provided an attractive idea to a child, but it also emphasised humanity as part of God's creation. Joyce's concern was constantly to re-enforce the design of God's entire creation and to engage the reader with a sense of wonder at the order consequent upon God's rational plan. The order conferred by the system of classification worked to this end. Joyce presents the Linnaean division of 24 classes of vegetables dependant on the arrangement of parts of the flower in a table. (Figure 32).

¹⁰⁶Joyce, *Catechism of Nature*, 1812, p. 78.

¹⁰⁷ibid., p. 89.

Figure 32. Table of the 24 classes in Botany from Joyce Catechism of Nature. 1812.

TABLE OF THE 24 CLASSES IN BOTANY.			194
Classes.		Examples.	THE CATECHISM OF NATURE.
1 Monandria.....	One Stamen.....	Marestail.	
2 Diandria.....	Two Stamens.....	Speedwell.	
3 Triandria.....	Three Stamens.....	Grasses.	
4 Tetrandria.....	Four Stamens..... (all of the same length)	Teasel.	
5 Pentandria.....	Five Stamens..... (anthers not united)	Honeysuckle.	
6 Hexandria.....	Six Stamens..... (all of the same length)	Hyacinth.	
7 Heptandria.....	Seven Stamens.....	Wintergreen.	
8 Octandria.....	Eight Stamens.....	Mezerion.	
9 Enneandria.....	Nine Stamens.....	Gladiol.	
10 Decandria.....	Ten Stamens..... (threads not united)	Pink.	
11 Dodecandria...	Twelve Stamens, or more... (fixed to the Receptacle)	Houseleek.	
12 Icosandria.....	Twenty Stamens..... (fixed upon the Calyx or Corolla)	Strawberry.	
13 Polyandria.....	Many Stamens... (fixed to the Receptacle)	Poppy.	
14 Didynamia.....	Four Stamens, two longer. One Pointal. Flowers ringent	Foxglove.	
15 Tetradyamin..	Six Stamens, four longer. One Pointal. Flowers cruciform	Stock Gilliflower	
16 Monadelphia...	Threads united at bottom, but separate at top	Rose Mallow.	
17 Diadelphia.....	Threads in two sets. Flowers Butterfly-shaped	Everlasting Pea.	
18 Polyadelphia..	Threads in many sets; in three or more sets	St. John's Wort.	
19 Syngenesia.....	Anthers united. Five Stamens. One Pointal. Flowers compound	Dandelion.	
20 Gynandria.....	Stamens upon the Pointal	Orchis.	
21 Monœcia.....	Stamens and Pointals in separate Flowers, upon the same Plant	Cucumber.	
22 Dioœcia.....	Stamens and Pointals distinct, upon different Plants	Hop.	
23 Polygamia.....	Various situations. Stamens only, Pointals only, or perfect Flowers	Ash.	
24 Cryptogamia...	Flowers inconspicuous	{ Ferns, Mosses, Liverworts, and Mushrooms.	

Part of the appeal of the table is the neat and clear set of classifications it offers which emphasises the sense of order of God's creation of nature.

Joyce closed the *Catechism of Nature* with a very brief description of the Wernerian mineral system which he says 'is followed in preference to that of Linnaeus'.¹⁰⁸ He describes the 'earthy', 'saline', 'inflammable' and 'metallic' classes and their sub genera and closes by saying that the genera are further divided into species 'According to their agreement or difference in external qualities, as shape, colour, fracture, hardness, &c and in their chemical qualities, or internal composition'.¹⁰⁹ There is no evidence of Joyce's views on the debate between James Hutton's Plutonist theories and Werner's Neptunism which was raging, particularly in Scotland, at the time.¹¹⁰ Joyce didn't involve himself directly with scientific debate, but contented himself with presenting those ideas that fitted his theological persuasion.

¹⁰⁸ibid., p. 95.

¹⁰⁹ibid., p. 96.

¹¹⁰Nicolaas A. Rupke, *The Great chain of History* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1983), p. 113.



Portrait of Sir Richard Phillips, 1840

Figure 33. Sir Richard Phillips (1767-1840) by James Saxon. National Portrait Gallery

6.4.1 Publishing with Sir Richard Phillips

Joyce's contact with Richard Phillips (1767-1840) (Figure 33), probably began through their mutual membership of the Society for Constitutional Information. Both were active members and received and distributed radical tracts.¹¹¹ Like Joyce, Phillips suffered a term of imprisonment which was related to the publication of seditious literature and served 18 months in Leicester gaol for selling *The Rights of Man* in 1793. In the late 1790s and through the first five years of the nineteenth century, Phillips attracted the support of the Unitarian community whose luminaries Joseph Priestley, Joseph Johnson and John Aiken supported his *Monthly Magazine* (1796-1824), which was a major organ of radical criticism. However, as Phillips extended his publishing empire and became a Sheriff of London (1807), his reputation fell sharply in literary circles. Support from the Unitarians was greatly diminished and he lost the friendly rivalry with Joseph Johnson. John Aiken who had edited the *Monthly Magazine* for 6 years left in an acrimonious dispute in 1806. Phillips had employed many literary figures in his various projects under very harsh financial terms. William Blake, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Robert Southey, Leigh Hunt and the children's author Dr. Wolcot were among the many authors who came to despise him.¹¹² Wolcot said of him 'The scoundrel shall never have another line of mine... he would suck the knowledge out of authors skulls and fling the carcasses on the dunghill afterwards'.¹¹³

There is no evidence to suggest that Joyce had a particularly unhappy relationship with Phillips. Their mutual imprisonment, history of radical activities and lower class origins, may have secured an agreeable working relationship. Joyce began to work for Phillips on a cash commission basis in 1802 when he wrote the meteorological reports for the *Monthly Magazine*. Much of Phillips's

¹¹¹PRO, TS 11/962. SCI meeting 29th June 1792.

¹¹²John Issitt, 'Introducing Sir Richard Phillips', *Paradigm*, 1, 26 (1998): 25-29.

¹¹³Dr Wolcot quoted in Cyrus Redding, *Fifty Years Recollections* (Charles Skeet, 1858), Vol. ii, p. 259.

operation concerned with children's books was conducted through Benjamin Tabart's Juvenile library (Figure 32) which acted as a fashionable metropolitan outlet for many of his educational works.¹¹⁴ Many of Joyce's titles were sold at Tabart's shop. Several were commissioned by Phillips and published under pseudonyms which functioned as trade or brand names. The texts considered below have all been identified as Joyce's works and were on Tabart's lists.

Evidence that these titles were composed by Joyce comes from a number of sources. The most important are Robert Aspland's memoir of Joyce, which gives a comprehensive list of Joyce's works, but which has some errors in dating, and the partial memory of Joyce's wife Elizabeth as recorded by Joyce's daughter in a letter to her sister.¹¹⁵ Supplementary evidence is gleaned from the recollections of Joyce's contemporaries, close study of bibliographical information, advertisements, prefaces and title pages. In the following description of Joyce's titles, Joyce has been identified as author where two sources confirm his authorship and where any available supplementary evidence is consistent. However, it has not always be possible to determine whether Joyce was sole author. Given the concern to keep costs down, it is possible that Phillips acquired an existing, partial or unfinished text which he commissioned Joyce to complete. It is also, in most cases, difficult to determine whether and to what extent projects were collaborative. There is no evidence that Joyce did work with other authors whilst he worked on Phillips commissions, but given Phillips's large network of authors, the possibility cannot be entirely dismissed.

Phillips' financial success in publishing educational works was largely due to his production of a range of related products. He would commission an author to write a 'grammar', which

¹¹⁴Majorie Moon, *Benjamin Tabart's Juvenile Library* (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1990), p. 3.

¹¹⁵Aspland Memoir; MCO, Shepherd MSS. Vol. 10. No. 89. Letter from Helen Joyce to Hannah Ridyard (nee Joyce) Lowerstoft 1856.



N° 157, New Bond Street, London.

A view of the shop, from *Visits to the Juvenile Library* by Eliza Fenwick, 1811.
Suttaby's



The Juvenile Library.

Figure 34. A view of Tabart's shop reproduced as a frontispiece to Marjorie Moon's *Benjamin Tabart's Juvenile Library* (1990) from a plate appearing in *Visits to a Juvenile Library* by Eliza Fenwick, Vol. 1 (Phillips, 1805), p. 43.

attracted low production costs as it mainly consisted of a list of significant facts on a particular subject and could therefore be sold relatively cheaply. Then he would commission a larger text which was written in a more literary style, was considerably more expensive and was a more discursive and entertaining treatment of the facts contained in the grammar. Then he would sell easily and cheaply produced copybooks which were quarto notebooks containing questions with space for students to fill in the answers. Phillips also produced materials aimed at tutors and schools. He sold a series of 'Keys' which were solutions and answers to the questions given in the texts, maps, and register books for the tutor to record the progress of students.¹¹⁶

Phillips's productions are important for the histories of education and publishing. He was not the first publisher to integrate educational thinking with commercial concerns in his speculations. But as A.S Collins writing about Phillips in the 1920s acknowledged, although many contemporaries looked upon Phillips as a charlatan, he 'set out to give popular instruction to the people'. Collins places Phillips as a major figure in the emancipation of the working classes through his role in providing cheap educational literature and saw him as 'the legitimate forerunner of the Chambers brothers and Charles Knight'.¹¹⁷ Phillips was clearly a brutal businessman but that should not detract attention from his role in promoting science and education. Joyce's works for Phillips had to appeal to the markets created by the expansion of schooling and negotiate the dominant educational technique - rote learning. Joyce's educational craft and his dissenting and radical concern with independence therefore had to engage with, and adapt to, the realities of the market place.

¹¹⁶Sir Richard Phillips, *Illustrations of the Interrogative System* (Phillips, 1820), p. 2.

¹¹⁷A.S.Collins, p. 114.

6.4.2 Goldsmith's Geographies

Some of Phillips's trade names were the names of living authors while others appear to be wholly fictitious. Joyce wrote *Geography Illustrated on a Popular Plan* (1803) and *An Easy Grammar of General Geography* (1803), under the fictitious name Reverend J. Goldsmith.¹¹⁸ Both titles were extremely successful and remained in print until 1868.¹¹⁹ Longmans bought the stock and many shares in the copyright of Phillips titles in 1812, and the Longmans archives show that Goldsmith's Geographies were extremely lucrative. Longmans had yearly print runs of between 10,000 and 20,000 of the *Grammar*, and between 500 and 1000 for *Geography illustrated on a Popular Plan*, in the period 1813 to the mid 1850s.¹²⁰

Goldsmith's Geographies were the first examples of Geographies which were produced as a series and designed to be used as complementary texts.¹²¹ The *Grammar* gave an outline of facts and *Geography Illustrated on a Popular Plan* was a reader. Goldsmith's Geographies reflected the transition in geography textbooks from a collection of isolated details and heterogeneous material, to an articulated body of knowledge and principles.¹²² Earlier Geographies centred exclusively on man and man's activities whereas Goldsmith's used a more extended set of categories including national boundaries, air and soil.

The vogue for educational systems is represented in Goldsmith's Geographies and the *Grammar* was sold as a:

complete synopsis of geography, as he [the author] knows has long been wanted by tutors; and which, united to the popular and fascinating contents of his larger work, will, he

¹¹⁸Reverend J. Goldsmith, *Geography Illustrated on a Popular Plan* (Phillips, 1803); *An Easy Grammar of General Geography* (Phillips, 1803).

¹¹⁹John Issitt, 'The Natural History of a Textbook', *Publishing History* 47 (June, 2000): 5-30.

¹²⁰The University of Reading, Longman MSS, Phillips purchase Ledgers MS/1393/1/54, 2 Vols.

¹²¹G.R.Allford, 'The development of Geography Textbooks used In England before 1902', (unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Leeds, 1964), p. 132.

¹²²J.A.Nietz, *Old textbooks* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1961), p. 208.

believes, form the completist system of geography for the use of schools, which has ever appeared.¹²³

The *Grammar* retailed at 2s 6d bound and was largely a list of facts in numbered paragraphs which the pupil was expected to commit to memory at a rate of 'one, two or three per day'.¹²⁴ However, a more sophisticated pedagogy was also attached to the general methodology of rote learning. The preface claimed that the first steps in learning about the construction and use of maps is to 'lay before them [the pupils] a plan or map of the district in which they reside' which can be 'compared with his actual knowledge of the neighbourhood'. In this manner the pupil will be able to 'easily extend his ideas to the objects of general maps'.¹²⁵ The method of finding the latitude or longitude of places using a globe was first described under a 'rule' and then a series of 'examples for practice' were given. While offering a list of facts to be passively memorised at one level, the *Grammar* also engaged the child in a process of active learning.

Joyce's educational techniques were more constrained by the rote learning formula and number format of the cheaply produced *Grammar*, than it was in the larger and more expensive *Geography Illustrated on a Popular Plan* which retailed at 15s. One of the opening plates of the larger volume was a fold out exercise (Figure 33) which combined estimated population figures and land areas. The impression of the immensity of sea compared with the relatively small land area was conveyed by the comparison between the earth's surface as a one foot diameter circle, and the smaller circles representing the land area of different countries. Pupils were required to pay close attention to these relative sizes and had to draw the circles, thereby gaining a sense of comparative land and sea areas, of the comparative sizes of different countries and comparative population

¹²³*Goldsmith's Grammar*, preface, p. i.

¹²⁴*ibid.*, p. v.

¹²⁵*ibid.*, p. iv & v.

figures, which did not correlate with the relative size of the country. The exercise was novel and effective and encouraged the pupil to explore geographical facts within geographical relationships.

The *Grammar* contained several engraved maps which also appeared in *Geography Illustrated on a Popular Plan* which also contained 60 elaborate engravings. Such engravings, were a major selling feature of the book and contained highly stereotypical images of different nationalities ranging from a Hindoo woman about to burn herself, a Swiss christening and a Chinese waterboatman depicted as rowing with one foot, managing the sail with one hand whilst holding the oar with the other and smoking a pipe (figure 35). The text was culled from a wide range of travel writings which are given in the preface and are listed as 'authorities relative to the several countries on which the facts and anecdotes are inserted'.¹²⁶ In fact over half of the text is built from direct quotations from the listed sources. The craft of compilation was especially suited to Geographies as there were so many popular travel writings in print and a series of extracts arranged by country offered a fairly low cost convenient compilation.

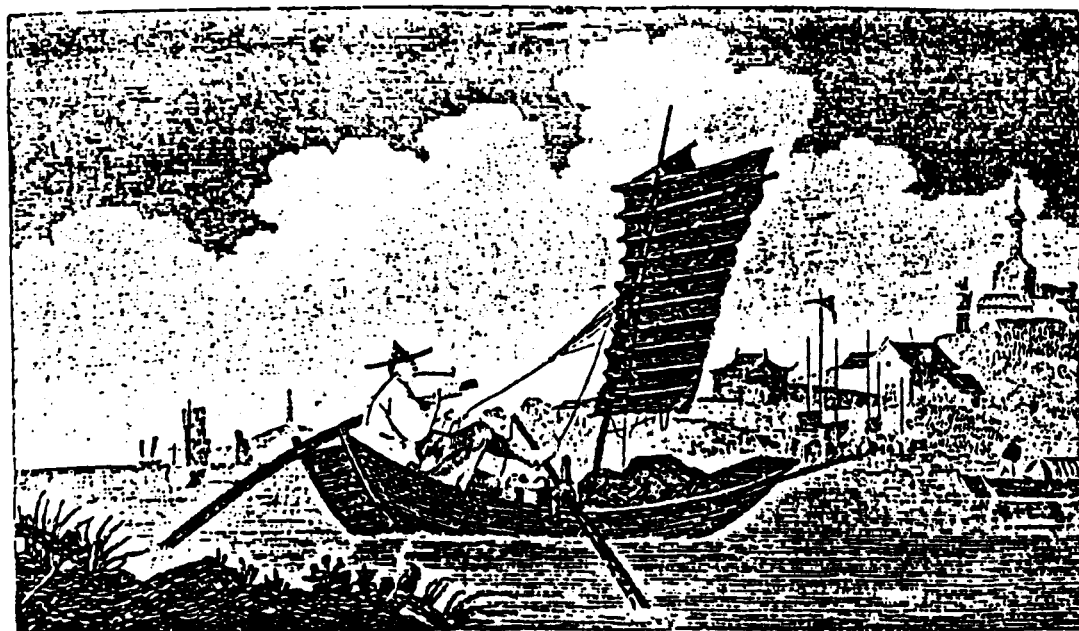
Joyce divided geography into two epistemological categories. Firstly, the divisions of the globe and the relative positions of place which he considered as 'mechanical', and secondly, the productions and curiosities of countries, and manners and customs of inhabitants were he denoted as 'the mental department'. The first, Joyce argued, could only be taught by 'mechanical means' by which he meant the use of globes and the copying of maps, whilst the second required reading and the appropriate engagement with useful ideas.¹²⁷ For Joyce both components were required in learning geography:

But while the pupil is proceeding with the mechanical part of Geography, the mental department should by no means be neglected. It would be frivolous to become acquainted

¹²⁶*Geography on a Popular Plan*, preface, v.

¹²⁷*ibid.*, preface pi & v.

with the size and relative situations of countries, if no useful ideas were annexed to them, and if their inhabitants, climates, productions,, and curiosities were unknown. In order to furnish complete and ample information relative to these important and highly interesting particulars, the copious accounts of the manners, customs and curiosities of nations have been compiled, and they contain every remarkable and entertaining fact....¹²⁸



Economy of Time and Labour exemplified in a Chinese Waterman.
Pub by Richard Phillips And Sons, 178, St. Paul's Church-Yard.

Figure 36. Illustration 'Economy of Time and Labour exemplified in a Chinese Waterman', from *Geography Illustrated on a Popular Plan* (1803).

¹²⁸ibid., p. v.

Joyce's ascription of 'frivolity' to geographical knowledge which did not also have an aspect of utility, and his insistence on the combination of factual knowledge with useful knowledge, marks the general shift from an eighteenth century expectation of education as entertaining, to a nineteenth century expectation of education as useful. On the one hand Joyce hoped that *Geography Illustrated on a Popular Plan* could be read with 'eagerness and delight' and on the other that geography should be the 'most engaging' and 'useful' pursuit for 'both sexes'.¹²⁹ Goldsmith's Geographies embody elements of both the older tradition of polite education in which geographical knowledge was part of an accomplished liberal education, and the early nineteenth century concern for systematic learning.

6.4.3 The Book of Trades

The Book of Trades or Library of Useful Arts (London: Tabart, 1804) is a series of descriptions of the trades with illustrative plates. The established tradition of books depicting the trades stretched back at least to Jost Amman and Hans Sachs's 1568 *Book of Trades*. Johann Amos Comenius's influential and constantly reprinted 1654 *Orbis Pictus* concentrated on arts and crafts and provided a number of publishers with a lucrative income. Joyce's *The Book of Trades* is situated in this tradition which continued as a financially viable publishing venture throughout the nineteenth century. However, Joyce's version was the first to combine the elements of entertainment and instruction to produce a book that was specifically aimed at children.¹³⁰

The Book of Trades has a complex bibliographical history over the period 1804-1808. It was published both as a single, and as 3 separate volumes. It carried Benjamin Tabart's and Phillip's names singly and combined on different printings. It has plates that are dated differently in different editions, and it was increased in size by a third between the 1st (1804), and 3rd (1806)

¹²⁹ibid., p. vi.

¹³⁰Peter Stockham, *Early American Crafts & trades* (New York: Dover, 1976), introduction, p. vi. This is a facsimile reprint of the 1806 edition of Joyce's *Book of Trades*.

major editions. As the first edition was so successful, Tabart and Phillips probably experimented with different formats in order to maximise sales: some of the changes in plates may well have been due to the necessity of replacing those too worn. Aspland's memoir dates *The Book of Trades* as Joyce's in 1806, was the year in which it was considerably enlarged, but Aspland's dating is a little inconsistent and his list attributes the whole work to Joyce, as does Elizabeth Joyce. That the first trade described in the 1804 edition is that of Woolcomber - Joyce's father's trade - suggests that Joyce was the author. Furthermore, Tabart's Juvenile library was selling Joyce's Goldsmith Geographies from 1803 and Joyce was clearly one of Phillips's most successful compilers. It is therefore just as likely that Joyce compiled the original 1804 as the 1806 enlargement.

The Book of Trades is a rich source of social history. Later editions were updated to include some of the machine and factory based processes of expanding industrialisation. The 1806 edition included consideration of some relatively modern inventions. Richard Arkwright's spinning jenny for instance, is recorded as 'very successful' for spinning cotton, but judged not 'yet able to afford worsted yarn so cheap as that which can be spun by hand'.¹³¹ The text is littered with interesting facts, for instance, 25 workmen are involved in the production of a single pin and a fourteen year old lad is able to point 16,000 pins in an hour.¹³² Nearly all the descriptions refer to London and prices and practices refer to those found in London with occasional contrasts with those 'in the country'.¹³³ The commercial success and the employment created by industry is constantly emphasized. For instance, the reader learns of the tin plate factories of 'James and Taylors in Tottenham-Court-Road, and Howards in Old Street', 'seldom employ less than one hundred or a hundred and fifty men each'.¹³⁴

¹³¹ *ibid.*, p. 12.

¹³² *ibid.*, 3rd Vol. 1804, reprinted in Facsimile as *Early Nineteenth Century Crafts and Trades* (New York: Dover, 1992), p. 36 & 38.

¹³³ *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 39.

¹³⁴ *ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 90.

In general though, the trades are described in terms of individual enterprise and even where the text and plates describe a small factory setting, the emphasis is on the finished product as the result of the individual artisan's work. Joyce's description of the trade of woolcombing (Figure 36) is noticeably more detailed than other entries. The plate has a small bird cage in the top right hand corner which is not referred to in the text and may be a recollection of Joyce's childhood in his father's shop. The accompanying text describes the different types of wool and the processes required to produce wool ready for spinning - which is the next trade that is described. The plate shows two ballads that are hung on the wall of which Joyce says 'there are several in every woolcomber's shop'.¹³⁵ Such ballads may well have been sung in the shop and their presence is an unusual detail which again may reflect Joyce's personal experience.

Joyce includes some interesting details of the working practices and organisation of Woolcombers:

The Journeymen work by the piece, and will earn from sixteen shillings to twenty per week. Like people in many other trades, they often make holidays in the early part of the week. They come on a Monday morning, and, having lighted the fire in the comb-pot, will frequently go away, and perhaps return no more till Wednesday or even Thursday. The men in this trade have a curious custom: when out of work, they set out in search of a master, with a sort of certificate from their last place: this they call going on the tramp; and at every shop where they call, and can get no employment, they receive one penny, which is given from a common stock raised by the men of that shop.¹³⁶

¹³⁵ibid., vol. 1, p. 5.

¹³⁶ibid.

THE WOOL-COMBER.

THE attitude of the wool-comber, in the plate, exhibits him in only one part of his business, the drawing out of the slivers. The wool upon which he works, is the hair or covering of the sheep, which when washed, and combed, and spun, and woven, makes worsted, many kinds of stuff, and other articles of great use in the concerns of life.

While the wool remains in the state in which it is shorn from the sheep's back, it is called a fleece. Each fleece consists of wool of different qualities and degrees of fineness, which the wool-stapler sorts, and sells at different rates. The finest wool grows on and about the head of the



A Wool Comber.

Figure 37. Illustration of A Wool Comber from the *Book of Trades*. 1806.

The details of the practice of 'holidays' at the beginning of the week leaving only 3 or 4 days for productive work, might have come from his father's frustration with his journeymen workers who, had a reputation for insubordination.¹³⁷ The practices of tramping and support for out of work journeymen is not recorded elsewhere in the book, and suggests that as a child Joyce witnessed journeymen arriving at his father's shop and was impressed by the practice of giving financial support to out of work fellow tradesmen.

Joyce's seven-year apprenticeship and 2 years as a journeyman glazier rendered him well placed to describe the building trades. His description of the tools and practices of the bricklayer, carpenter, plumber and stonemason are precise and include considerable detail about the way, and how much, they are paid. His description of glazing comes under the section Glass-Blower, in which the details of the glass-making process are given with scientific precision.

Glass is sometimes coloured by mixing with it, while in the fluid state, various metallic oxydes. It is coloured blue, by the oxyde of cobalt; red, by the oxyde of gold; green, by the oxyde of copper or iron; yellow, by the oxyde of silver or antimony; and violet by the oxyde of manganese.¹³⁸

The sense of Joyce's enthusiasm for glass is reflected in his introduction to the Glass-Blowing section in which he claims that there is 'scarcely any manufacture of more real utility than that of glass'. The mix of utility, technical language and enthusiasm produces an interesting text which might beguile a young reader.

Though Glass, when cold, is brittle, it is one of the most ductile bodies known. When liquid, if a thread of melted glass be drawn out and fastened to a reel, the whole of the glass may be spun off, and by cutting the threads of a certain length, there is obtained a

¹³⁷Thompson, *Making of the English Working Class*, p. 311.

¹³⁸*The Book of Trades*, Vol. 3, p. 119/120.

sort of feather of glass. A thread of glass may be drawn or spun so fine as to be scarcely visible to the naked eye. Glass is very elastic and sonorous. Fluric acid dissolves it, and the alkalis act upon it.¹³⁹

There is a hint of Joyce's dissenting status in his comment in the section on Carpet-Weavers, that an Orphan Working School had been set up in 'the city road', to weave carpets from strips of cloth 'through the liberality and public spirit of the dissenters in and near the metropolis'.¹⁴⁰ *The Book of Trades* uses romantic images of honourable and individual trades, but it also has a sense of social responsibility and paternal guidance. Joyce counselled against young women becoming dressmakers as 'the mere work-women do not make gains adequate to their labour: they are frequently obliged to set up to very late hours, and the recompense for the extra work is not adequate to the time spent'.¹⁴¹

On the evidence of its printing history, *The Book of Trades* was a lucrative venture. Its romantic images of independent artisans and the rich practical details of 'useful arts' helped to persuade a significant number of parents to purchase it for their children. The social function of *The Book of Trades* also extended to a form of early career guidance. Eliza Fenwick - another of Phillips's authors puffed it in her description of Tabart's shop when she described a schoolboy - Thomas Gibson, the 'best scholar in the school', whose was given a copy of *The Book of Trades*. His industry was rewarded:

..by giving him the choice of a trade. She has brought him that excellent book from London, that he may know something of the various honest occupations by which industrious men gain a comfortable living.¹⁴²

¹³⁹ibid., vol. 1, p. 120.

¹⁴⁰ibid., p. 30.

¹⁴¹Stockham *Early American Crafts & trades*, p. 34.

¹⁴²Eliza Fenwick, *Visits to a Juvenile Library* (Garland, 1977, 1st ed., 1805), p. 53.

The book was also well received by the staunchly conservative Mrs Sarah Trimmer, who reviewed it in her influential *Guardian of Education* (1805). While she thought the sections on female trades 'frivolous', she whole-heartedly recommended the book:

This is a very amusing and instructive work from which the general idea of a number of useful arts carried on in this and other kingdoms, may be gained. Subjects of this kind are very proper for young minds to be occupied with in their hours of amusement, when they are not proposed in too scientific a way; an objection which cannot be made to any that are introduced in these volumes.¹⁴³

Had Mrs Trimmer known that the *Book of Trades* actually came from the erstwhile radical Joyce she might well not have given it such a favourable review.

6.4.4 The Wonders of the Microscope and the Wonders of the Telescope

Both *Wonders of the Microscope or An Explanation of the Wisdom of the Creator in Objects Comparatively Minute, Adapted to the Understanding of the Young* (1805), and *Wonders of the Telescope or Display of the Starry Heavens Calculated to Promote and Simplify the Study of Astronomy* (1805), were published by Tabart and Phillips.¹⁴⁴ There is firm, although complex, evidence that the works were actually constructed by Joyce. Elizabeth Joyce listed two works together - 'the History of the Microscope and the History of the Telescope' as Joyce's, but no such 'history of' titles exist and Elizabeth may have been confused and was referring to the *Wonders*. Aspland only lists a new edition of the *Wonders of the Telescope* as Joyce's in 1814, yet comparison of the 1814 edition and the original reveals no differences in text, size or content. Both

¹⁴³Sarah Trimmer, *Guardian of Education*, vol. iv (1805), p. 304.

¹⁴⁴*Wonders of the Microscope or An Explanation of the Wisdom of the Creator in Objects Comparatively Minute, Adapted to the Understanding of the Young* (Tabart & Phillips, 1805); *Wonders of the Telescope or Display of the Starry Heavens Calculated to Promote and Simplify the Study of Astronomy* (Tabart & Phillips 1805).

books were sold as having the same author.¹⁴⁵ Furthermore, many of the same analogies, explanatory devices and patterns of argument that appear elsewhere in Joyce's works, appear in the *Wonders*.

Following the twin themes of instruction and entertainment that infuse all Joyce's works for children, Joyce claimed that the microscope 'opens to the young and the curious an inexhaustible source of information and pleasure'.¹⁴⁶ Joyce does not however, plunge straight into the revelations of the microscope. He starts by leading the reader through the scientific knowledge necessary to understand how microscopes work. The introduction is largely devoted to the anatomy and function of the eye and closely resembles the expanded treatment of the same subject in Joyce's series of lectures on natural theology that appeared in the *Monthly Magazine* in 1815. The first chapter is concerned with the three different types of microscopes - single, compound and solar, with the greatest amount of space given to the compound microscope which is given in a figure and heavily referred to in the text. (Figure 38). The optics of the microscope are described and the relationships between focal distance and lens diameter are discussed using numerical figures to work out magnifying power. Joyce also included a short - one page - list of 'technical terms' at the end of the book which gave definitions of 'animicules, concave, convex, cuticle, focus and lens'. His purpose was, therefore, not simply to display the wonders of creation as revealed by the microscope, but also to support children in the actual use of them by providing a practical manual. Joyce adapted existing sources and welding them into this new publishing speculation. The *Wonders of the Microscope* drew heavily on Robert Hooke's *Micrographia* (1665). Joyce clearly had a copy of the *Micrographia* in front of him as he worked. The impressive and immense foldout illustrations of fleas, lice, mites, magnified snowflakes and the point of a needle, which are the

¹⁴⁵*Wonders of the Telescope*, Advertisement, 1809 ed., p. iv,

¹⁴⁶*Wonders of the Microscope*, 1805, p. 2.

features of the *Wonders of the Microscope* that first strike the reader, were copied from Hooke. Much of the text was also copied but a large amount was abbreviated and modified. Joyce chose passages from the *Micrographia* that held interesting stories which he could use to build his own narrative. For instance, he chose an incident in which Hooke observed a mite that sucked blood from his hand, and he added a humanising element to the description. According to Hooke, two mites were kept 'in a box for two or three dayes, so that for all they had nothing to feed on'.¹⁴⁷ Joyce's version is 'Dr Hooke...Kept several in a box for two or three days, by which time they became extremely hungry'.¹⁴⁸ He also updated the language and where Hooke had described the flow of blood into the mite through 'very swift systole and diastole', Joyce used 'alternate dilation and contraction'.¹⁴⁹

Joyce's occasionally used humour as an educational and literary device. He chose to record the story of Anthony van Leeuwenhoek who attempted to estimate the reproductive rates of lice by placing two female lice 'into a black stocking, which he wore night and day', concluding that 'in about eight weeks a louse might see five thousand of its descendants'.¹⁵⁰ Joyce also used the opportunity to instruct the youthful reader in personal cleanliness saying that matter from the 'teeth of those who are inattentive to cleanliness, ...affords another sort of animicules in the form of eels'.¹⁵¹ He goes on to advise clean linen, gloves and handkerchiefs in order to avoid 'the disorder called the itch' which is the result of 'very nimble' animicules living in clothing.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁷Robert Hooke, *Micrographia* (1665), facsimile reprint in R.T.Gunther, Vol. 13 of the Early Science in Oxford, Series (Oxford: Printed for the subscribers, 1938), p. 213/4.

¹⁴⁸*Wonders of the Microscope*, p. 37.

¹⁴⁹*Micrographia*, p. 212; *Wonders of the Microscope*, p. 37.

¹⁵⁰*Wonders of the Microscope*, p. 43.

¹⁵¹*ibid.*, p. 99.

¹⁵²*ibid.*

CHAP. II.

OF THE DISCOVERIES MADE BY THE ASSISTANCE
OF THE MICROSCOPE.

MICROSCOPES have brought us acquainted with a new world of vegetables and animals, and have demonstrated to the careful observer, that there is no less of order and harmony in the construction of the mite, than in that of the whale or the elephant. The only difference is, that the weakness of our sight prevents us from penetrating into the nature and organization of small bodies, which often escape our eyes, and which can only be perceived by the assistance of glasses. These teach us, that the smallest objects, of which our forefathers had not the least knowledge, have extension, parts, and a well organized form. The mention of some examples will lead us to acknowledge the power, wisdom, and goodness of that God upon whom we all depend for existence and happiness.

Grains of sand, which appear of the same form by the naked eye, will, when seen through

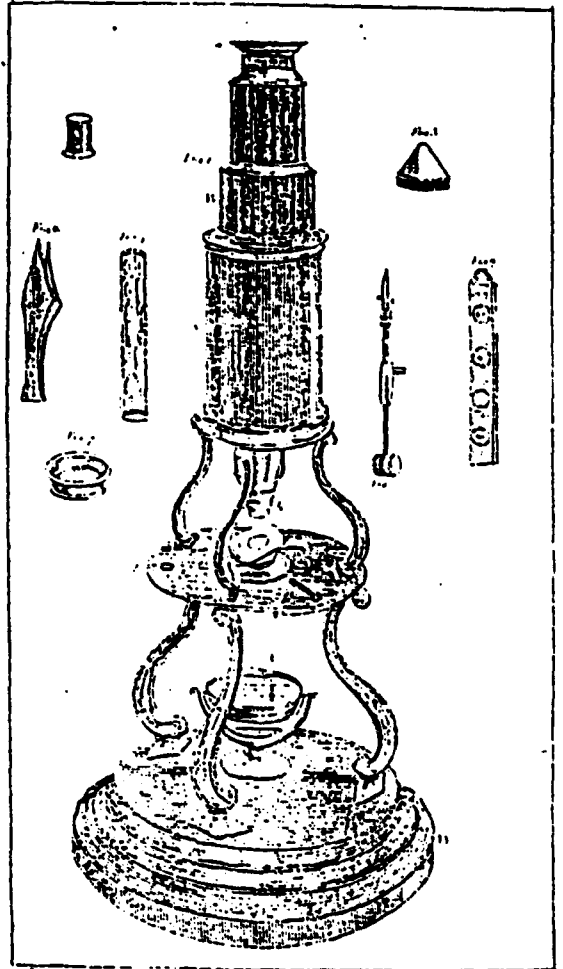


Figure 38. Illustration of a compound microscope from *Wonders of the Microscope*. 1805.

He concluded the chapter on mites with a vivid image of the world beyond un-aided vision.

Thus an infinite number of animalcules are perpetually floating in the air we breathe, sporting in the fluids we drink, or adhering to the several objects we see and handle.¹⁵³

Joyce's graphic imagery may - like most of his text - have been culled from existing sources, but his relaxed and at times flamboyant prose style in the *Wonders of the Microscope* suggests that his literary confidence was strong in this project - probably because it offered him an opportunity to fulfil the role of preacher. The *Wonders of the Microscope* can be considered as a form of popular preaching of the design argument. The standard set of arguments - order and harmony in the universe as evidence of design, supported by the claim of the poverty of human artifice as compared with God's far superior handywork - are all presented. Joyce makes wonder the central device for what is effectively an extended sermon constructed within the commercial parameters of a publishing speculation. He trades off the religious sense of wonder which he uses in a number of linked rhetorical ploys to develop lines of argument which repeatedly bring the reader to confront the beneficent design of God. For instance, in Joyce's exhortation to wonder at the marvels of God's creation, he presses the sense of suspended belief engendered by wonder, in an appeal to the ability of the imagination to probe beyond the level of physical resolution of the microscope, and deploy a 'mental microscope'.

What wonders would we see if we could continually improve those glasses, which are invented for the assistance of our sight. Imagination may, in some measure, supply the defect of our eyes, and make it serve as a mental microscope to represent in each atom thousands of new and invisible worlds.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵³ibid., p. 40.

¹⁵⁴ibid., p. 13.

Here Joyce invites the reader to contemplate worlds beyond the limits of human vision. He used the revelatory power of the microscope, in conjunction with the revelatory power of the imagination, to promote sentiments of wonder. But there is no evidence that Joyce's use of the image of atoms as worlds was simply a fantastical literary flourish and that he didn't actually believe there were worlds beyond the resolution of the microscope.

The sermonising continues and drives towards a moral lesson:

He provides with the same kind and parental care for the wants of the insect that crawls in the dust, as for the whale, which appears as a huge mountain in the mighty seas. In this may we, may the young in particular, imitate the example of the Deity, by shewing kindness and humanity to every living creature, since, as they are worthy of His care, they ought not be ill-treated by us.¹⁵⁵

Much of the religious discourse of the *Wonders* is non-controversially treated here and would have been acceptable to most parents of potential readers. Ideas of a beneficent and omnipotent deity, the limitations of human knowledge, and the requirement for emulation of God's benign generosity were fairly safe territory and considered standard ground on which to build a text for children. Microscopes were increasingly becoming a fashionable gift for the children of the wealthy and middle classes and a text which both provided a manual to guide their use and sanctioned their revelations within established religious sentiment, presented a good commercial opportunity.

The *Wonders of the Microscope* was sold at 3s 6d in boards but the *Wonders of the Telescope* sold at 5s in boards or 6s fully bound. The difference in price may be partly explained by the differences in size and cost. Whilst the *Wonders of the Microscope* has bigger illustrations these could simply be copied, along with much of the text from Hooke's *Micrographia*. The *Wonders*

¹⁵⁵ibid.

of the Telescope required more work and 14 elaborate new plates were commissioned. The *Wonders of the Telescope*'s opening advertisement links it to the *Wonders of the Microscope* and claims that in contradistinction to the study of objects 'comparatively minute', it 'affords us a glimpse of infinite space and the myriads of worlds and systems of worlds'.¹⁵⁶ Both the microscope and the telescope are 'calculated to excite in us sentiments of awe for the creator' and the religious motivations behind both works were utterly consistent in attempting to make readers 'wiser and better'.¹⁵⁷ Justified by religious and moral probity, the further credentials of the work designed to entice potential buyers, were threefold. Firstly, the book was easy to read and not infused with too much 'technical language'. Secondly, unlike other books on astronomy, it had sufficient 'illustrative plates'. Thirdly, it presented knowledge that was normally only found in the 'voluminous transactions of learned societies or in large and expensive works'.¹⁵⁸

The literary style of the *Wonders of the Telescope* was a little different from that of the *Wonders of the Microscope* which was a fairly traditional formulation of natural theology concerned with the immediate and objects of terrestrial world. The celestial realm is more removed from immediate human observation and necessitated a different type of narrative. Where the *Wonders of the Microscope* was a manual for the reader to witness the wonders of God, *Wonders of the Telescope* was more of a theatrical lecture. The fourteen plates were not simply educational devices, they were a literal attempt to do what the title advertised - provide 'A Display of the Starry Heavens'. The plates represented what was seen through the aperture of the telescope. Many of them were superimposed with a grid and the relative luminosity of the stars established by size. (Figure 38). The reader, like an attender at a scientific lecture or a pulpit sermon, was invited to witness God's heavens and wonder at His creation.

¹⁵⁶*Wonders of the Telescope*, Advertisement, p. iv.

¹⁵⁷*ibid.*

¹⁵⁸*ibid.*

The *Wonders of the Telescope* opens with the argument for the earth being a globe rather than flat and uses the standard argument of the masts of a ship being seen first or last as they appear or disappear over the horizon. Then there follows a description of the solar system which includes the most poetic and literary passage in Joyce's entire writings. The passage is littered with poetical extracts from Pope, Barbauld and Young, but the text which is not ascribed to anybody else is unusually colourful:

The lawn is refreshed by the coolness of the night, and the light of the morning displays its increasing verdure. The flowers that enamel its surface glitter in the sunbeams, and, like the most brilliant stones, reflect a thousand mingled colours to the eye. The cheerful birds unite in choirs, and hail, in concert, the parent of life: not one is silent; all join, each in his different way to shout their Maker's praise.¹⁵⁹

The following chapters consider the sun and then each of the planets. Then a chapter entitled 'A walk on a starry night' which is really a lesson on how to identify the points of the compass, the poles, the zenith and important constellations. This is the same material covered in the astronomy book of the *Scientific Dialogues*, but reworked into a more literary text. Then comes a chapter entitled 'of the constellations or imaginary divisions of the stars'. This has descriptions of the constellations but does not explain their 'imaginary' nature or give any derivations for the names of the constellations. The book closes with a chapter on the different types of reflecting and refracting telescopes which includes a large pullout illustration of Herschel's telescope, and a chapter on 'the magnifying power of telescopes'. These final chapters explore the optics of the telescope and provide the same kind of technical knowledge that was provided in the first chapters of the *Wonders of the Microscope*.

¹⁵⁹ibid., p. 6.

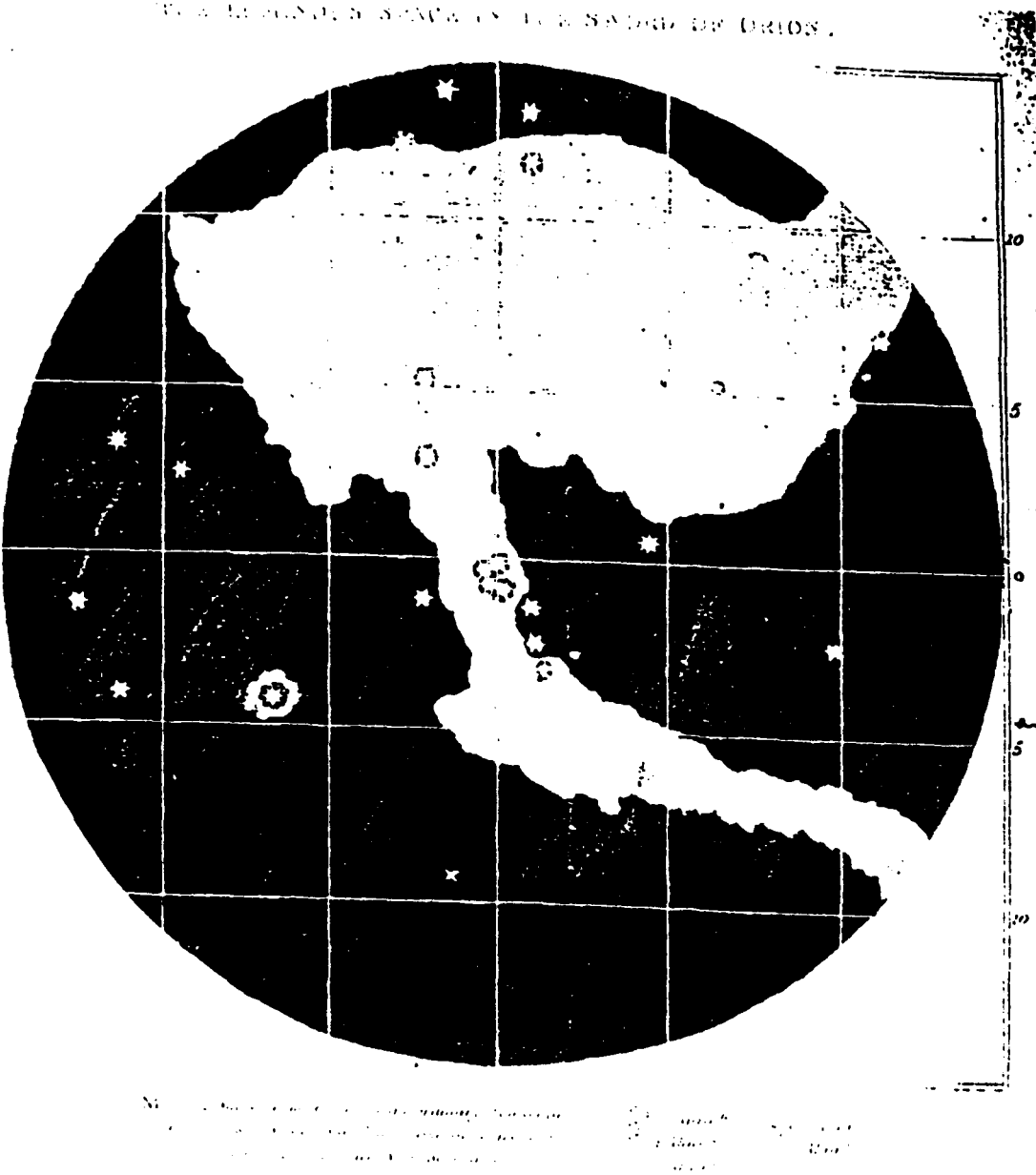


Figure 39. 'The Luminous space in the sword of Orion', from *Wonders of the Telescope*. 1805.

6.4.5 A System Of Practical Arithmetic & Key

A System Of Practical Arithmetic Applicable to the Present State of Trade, and Money Transactions, Illustrated by Numerous Examples Under Each rule; For the Use of Schools (1808), and *A Key to Joyce's Arithmetic Containing Solutions and Answers* (1808), were the only titles Phillips published under Joyce's own name.¹⁶⁰ Joyce received only £105 for the perpetual copyright of the *System* and 50 guineas for the *Key* which represented only a tiny fraction of the long term profits.¹⁶¹ The *System* and *Key* were very successful for Phillips and also for Longmans who bought one third of the copyright in 1812 and secured the whole copyright in 1828. He went on to publish them until 1868, regularly printing 2,000 copies a year.¹⁶²

The *System* may have been modelled on the mathematician Charles Hutton's (1737-1823) highly successful *The Schoolmaster's Guide, or a compleat System of Practical Arithmetic* (1764), which was a standard school textbook used throughout Hutton's life.¹⁶³ Following much of the format of Hutton's book, Joyce's *System* opens with sections on elementary arithmetic and then moves to consider practical examples. It uses the traditional pedagogic style for mathematics textbooks of an introductory definition, followed by a rule, then worked examples followed by problems set for the student. However, the *System* introduces several new features. Where Hutton's book contains the answers to problems set, Joyce's has a separate *Key* with the answers. This may have been motivated in part by the spread of Lancaster and Bell's monitorial method which provided a low cost education for the lower classes. Where pupil monitors were used, provision of a separate

¹⁶⁰Jeremiah Joyce, *A System Of Practical Arithmetic Applicable to the Present State of Trade, and Money Transactions, Illustrated by Numerous Examples Under Each rule; For the Use of Schools* (Phillips, 1808); *A Key to Joyce's Arithmetic Containing Solutions and Answers* (Phillips, 1808).

¹⁶¹Longman MSS, 1393 24/140.

¹⁶²Longman MSS, 1393 24/53; Phillips Purchase Ledgers.

¹⁶³Geoffrey Howson, *A history of mathematics education in England* (Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 62.

book of answers removed the responsibility for examining the workings of each example, both from the teacher, whose time could also 'be employed to better purposes',¹⁶⁴ and the monitor, whose mathematical competence may itself have been limited. Joyce also justified separating the answers from the questions on pedagogical grounds, arguing from his own experience that 'Preceptors in general, prefer the plan of omitting the answers to the examples they have given their pupils for exercise; it being found conducive to the habits of attention and accuracy'.¹⁶⁵

Joyce introduced logarithms, arguing in the preface to the 1816 edition that 'it appeared high time to introduce this capital discovery into the ordinary processes of arithmetic, and no longer leave its advantages to those only who have the leisure to cultivate the higher branches of mathematics'.¹⁶⁶ He designed the *System* to act as an introduction for those 'who wish to proceed in that science', but also for the 'thousands who never trouble themselves to learn beyond the elements of Arithmetic'.¹⁶⁷ Over half of the book is divided into sections devoted to 'the application of the several rules to transactions of real business'.¹⁶⁸ The main target audience for the *System* was schools whose pupils might go into commerce and who needed arithmetic for practical purposes. It provided for those 'who seek only for that knowledge which is in some way applicable'.¹⁶⁹ Phillips and Joyce however, extended their net for potential purchasers to include non-school audiences and the *System* was also directed at 'Persons who have neglected or forgotten what they what they learned in early life' and who, by purchase of the *System* and *Key*, could 'render themselves completely masters of every part of the science connected with the usual concerns of life'.¹⁷⁰ In the chapter entitled 'reduction' which described methods of conversions, subsections are devoted to the goldsmith, grocer, apothecary and

¹⁶⁴*Key to Joyce's Arithmetic*, Joyce's Preface, 1816 ed., p. 2.

¹⁶⁵*ibid.*

¹⁶⁶*System of Practical Arithmetic*, Longman's 1815 edition, preface by Joyce, p. iii.

¹⁶⁷*ibid.*, p. iv.

¹⁶⁸*ibid.*

¹⁶⁹*ibid.*

¹⁷⁰*Key*, preface, p. 2/3.

wool weights, cloth, land, cubic, wine, ale, corn, coal measures and 'commercial numbers or articles sold by the tale' . (Figure 39). The second half of the book is devoted to particular operations of the commercial world and is divided into chapters, normally only 4 or 5 pages long, on interest, commission and brokerage, insurance, profit and loss, partnership, expectations of life and exchange rates. The practices of 'tare and tret' in which wholesalers gave allowances in selling goods by weight, is given a chapter. There is a section on geography with questions designed to work out positions of latitude and longitude in order to trace the passage of shipping. Joyce had to find examples and questions for both the elementary arithmetic sections and the practical sections. Such questions provide additional sources of information about Joyce's work. For instance, the questions given in the section 'commercial numbers' (Figure 39), use examples from printing and publishing and relate to his latest compilation - *Dr Gregory's Dictionary of Arts and sciences* (considered below).

Part of the attraction of the *System* and *Key* was that they aided teachers in their classroom practice. The *Key*, whilst containing the answers to the questions set in the *System*, also included 'Questions for examination' relating to sections of pages or chapters of the *System*, which teachers could use. For instance, the first question of the *Key* 'what do you mean by arithmetic?', anticipates a version of the first definition given in the *System* 'Arithmetic is the science which explains the various methods of computing numbers'. The *Key* also offered in an appendix (Figure 40), a mechanism for learning mental arithmetic which might also be used by the autodidact as well as in the classroom. The attractiveness of learning mental arithmetic was presented as giving a superior edge to 'a man of business'.¹⁷¹

¹⁷¹*Key*, p. 198.

(50)

COAL MEASURE.

TABLE.

4 pecks	• • • •	make 1 bushel
2 bushels	• • • •	• 1 sack
12 sacks, or 24 bushels	• • • •	• 1 chaldron
21 chaldrons	• • • •	• 1 score.*

EXAMPLES.

- Ex. 1. How many sacks are there in five score of coals?
 Ex. 2. How many bushels of coals are there in a vessel containing 12 rems?
 Ex. 3. In ten thousand and 12 pecks, how many chaldrons are there?
 Ex. 4. How many chaldrons of coals are there in ten thousand and five pecks?
 Ex. 5. In three score and ten bushels of coals, how many sacks?

COMMERCIAL NUMBERS,

OR ARTICLES SOLD BY TALE.

12 articles of any kind	• • • •	• 1 dozen
12 ditto	• • • •	• 1 long dozen
12 dozen	• • • •	• 1 gross
20 articles of any kind	• • • •	• 1 score
3 score	• • • •	• 1 hundred
4 score	• • • •	• 1 great hundred
12 score	• • • •	• 1 pack of wool
3 dozen skins of parchment	• • • •	• 1 roll
12 words in Common law	• • • •	• 1 sheet
80 — in the Exchequer	• • • •	• 1 ditto
90 — in Chancery	• • • •	• 1 ditto
24 sheets of paper	• • • •	• 1 quire
20 quires	• • • •	• 1 ream
21 quires, or 504 sheets	• • • •	• 1 printer's ream
7 reams	• • • •	• 1 bundle

NOTE.

* In the purchase of coals, to a single chaldron there are 12 sacks only; but if 2 chaldrons be ordered at one time, the seller must send 23 sacks.

ARTICLES BY TALE.

Folio is the largest size of books, of which,

2 leaves, or 4 pages, make a sheet.
Quarto, 4to. • • • • 4 leaves, or 8 pages, make a sheet
Octavo, 8vo. • • • • 8 leaves, or 16 pages, ditto
Dodecimo, 12mo. • • • • 12 leaves, or 24 pages, ditto
Octodecimo, 18mo. • • • • 18 leaves, or 36 pages, ditto

EXAMPLES.

- Ex. 1. How many long dozens are there in ten thousand oranges?
 Ex. 2. How many gross are there in one hundred and fifty thousand corks?
 Ex. 3. In seventy thousand quills, how many great hundreds are there?
 Ex. 4. I have a deed containing 4 skins of parchment, and each skin contains 430 words; for how many sheets shall I have to pay the person who copies it, reckoning according to the common law charge?
 Ex. 5. The writing of an Exchequer cause occupies 315 sheets; for how many words shall I have to pay the clerk who copies it for me?
 Ex. 6. A suit has been four years in chancery, and I wish to have a copy of all the proceedings; for how many sheets shall I pay, supposing it occupies 1264 skins of parchment, and each skin 400 words?
 Ex. 7. How many sheets are there in 40 reams of paper?
 Ex. 8. How many common reams of paper are there in ten thousand and printer's reams?
 Ex. 9. What number of sheets less are there in 300 common reams of paper, than there are in the same number of printer's reams?
 Ex. 10. What number of pages are there in a folio containing 211 sheets?
 Ex. 11. What will be the difference in the number of pages whether I print in 12mo. or 18mo., supposing my work will make fourteen sheets?
 Ex. 12. What number of words are there in Dr. Gregory's Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, which contains 210 sheets 4to., and each page contains 1848 words?
 Ex. 13. How many reams of paper were used in printing that Dictionary, six thousand copies having been taken off?
 Ex. 14. How many pens were used in writing the said Dictionary, supposing each pen to write 840 words?

2 2

Figure 40. Commercial Numbers. From Joyce's *A System of Practical Arithmetic*. 1808.

In markets and fairs a ready calculator whose constant and never-failing resource is his own mind, will find himself in a superior situation to him who can calculate only by means of his pen.¹⁷²

The *System* and *Key*, then, had been carefully planned. The aids to the teacher in the *Key* also anticipated the needs of the autodidact and included sets of instructions which could be used in both classroom and individual situations. Such sets of instructions supplemented the *System* and encouraged the learner to use mathematics. For instance, referring to the specific pages in the chapter 'reduction' concerned with apothecaries' weights, Joyce gave a set of instructions which encouraged the learner to actively engage the subject:

Repeat the apothecaries weight Table

Write on your slate the characters made use of in this table

Do apothecaries buy and sell this weight?.¹⁷³

The *System* and the *Key* had to compete with a large number of other elementary mathematics texts produced for schools, for engineers and for mariners and was cleverly designed to appeal to particular sectors of the market. It was for relatively low class schools and was designed to suit the needs of children likely to go into the commercial world. It was fairly cheap - being sold at 3s - and therefore might also be within the price range of young men just starting in a merchants' office or counting house. It was also a cleverly worked out and practical course in elementary mathematics education built on a solid and innovatory pedagogic design that was likely to appeal to a range of learners. The *System* and *Key* were successful for Phillips and also for Longmans who went on to publish them until 1865.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷²ibid.

¹⁷³*Key*, p. 25.

¹⁷⁴Longman MSS, Phillips purchase ledgers.

APPENDIX.

No. 1.

MENTAL ARITHMETIC.*

MANY instances occur in life, in which a man of business has occasion to calculate the value of goods, at given stipulated prices, on the spur of the moment, when neither pen, pencil, nor paper may be at hand. In markets and at fairs a ready calculator, whose constant and never-failing resource is his own mind, will find himself in a superior situation to him who can calculate only by means of his pen. To attain this, the requisites are a perfect knowledge of the Multiplication Table, enlarged from 12 to 20 places: also of an enlarged Pence Table, with a ready recollection of the aliquot parts of a pound, and a guinea. To which must be added, a few weeks' practice before the learner leaves school.

- * The learner will recollect, that
 = stands for "equal to"
 + is the sign of Addition
 - Subtraction
 × Multiplication
 ÷ Division

thus $2 + 6 = 8$
 $6 - 2 = 4$
 $5 \times 6 = 30$
 $24 \div 6 = 4$

MENTAL ARITHMETIC.

197

MULTIPLICATION TABLE ENLARGED.

1	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
2	26	28	30	32	34	36	38	40
3	39	42	45	48	51	54	57	60
4	52	56	60	64	68	72	76	80
5	65	70	75	80	85	90	95	100
6	78	84	90	96	102	108	114	120
7	91	98	105	112	119	126	133	140
8	104	112	120	128	136	144	152	160
9	117	126	135	144	153	162	171	180
10	130	140	150	160	170	180	190	200
11	143	154	165	176	187	198	209	220
12	156	168	180	192	204	216	228	240
13	169	182	195	208	221	234	247	260
14	182	196	210	224	238	252	266	280
15	195	210	225	240	255	270	285	300
16	208	224	240	256	272	288	304	320
17	221	238	255	272	289	306	323	340
18	234	252	270	288	306	324	342	360
19	247	266	285	304	323	342	361	380
20	260	280	300	320	340	360	380	400

It may be useful to be able to recollect the squares of all the numbers to 20, which are here set down distinct from the tables in which they of course must occur.

Numbers	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Squares	1	4	9	16	25	36	49	64	81	100
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	

The learner is supposed to be perfectly ready in the Multiplication Table, as given, p. 10, in the *Arithmetic*, and may proceed to the above, which he may do.

s 3

Figure 41. Mechanism for learning mental arithmetic from *A key to Joyce's Arithmetic*. 1808.

6.4.6 Blair's Grammar

An Easy Grammar of Natural and Experimental Philosophy for the Use of Schools by Rev. David Blair (1807), was a pocket-size volume that retailed at 3s bound and is attributed to Joyce by both Aspland and Elizabeth Joyce.¹⁷⁵ (Figure 41). Like Goldsmith, Blair was a fictitious trade name used by Phillips to build a large number of related educational texts. The authors of two texts given the Blair pseudonym have been identified. The highly successful *Blair's Class Book* (1806) was written by Elizabeth Fenwick,¹⁷⁶ and the *Easy Grammar* by Joyce. The benefits to Phillips, of using Blair's name were that it conferred the authority of a churchman, it could be used to further Phillips's publishing speculations in whatever way he chose, and, most importantly, avoided having to pay an author for the copyright - Phillips merely commissioned writers like Joyce. The preface signed 'David Blair, Islington, 1807' is an elaborate charade which has a very different literary style from the rest of the text and was probably written by Phillips himself. It is a little ambiguous in his acknowledgement that that work was 'compiled', but nowhere does it refer to any other writer or source.¹⁷⁷

The *Easy Grammar* was reprinted regularly in the UK up to 1825 and several editions appeared in America over the same period. Samuel Catlow flatteringly reviewed many of Joyce's titles and others actually written by him but published under pseudonyms. It is possible that Catlow, who was also one of Phillips's authors and may therefore have been aware of Phillips's operation, was being deliberately ironic in his review of the *Scientific Dialogues* which reads:

¹⁷⁵Rev. David Blair, *An Easy Grammar of Natural and Experimental Philosophy for the Use of Schools* by Rev. David Blair (Phillips, 1807).

¹⁷⁶Moon, p. 3.

¹⁷⁷*Goldsmith's Grammar* (1807), preface, p. iii

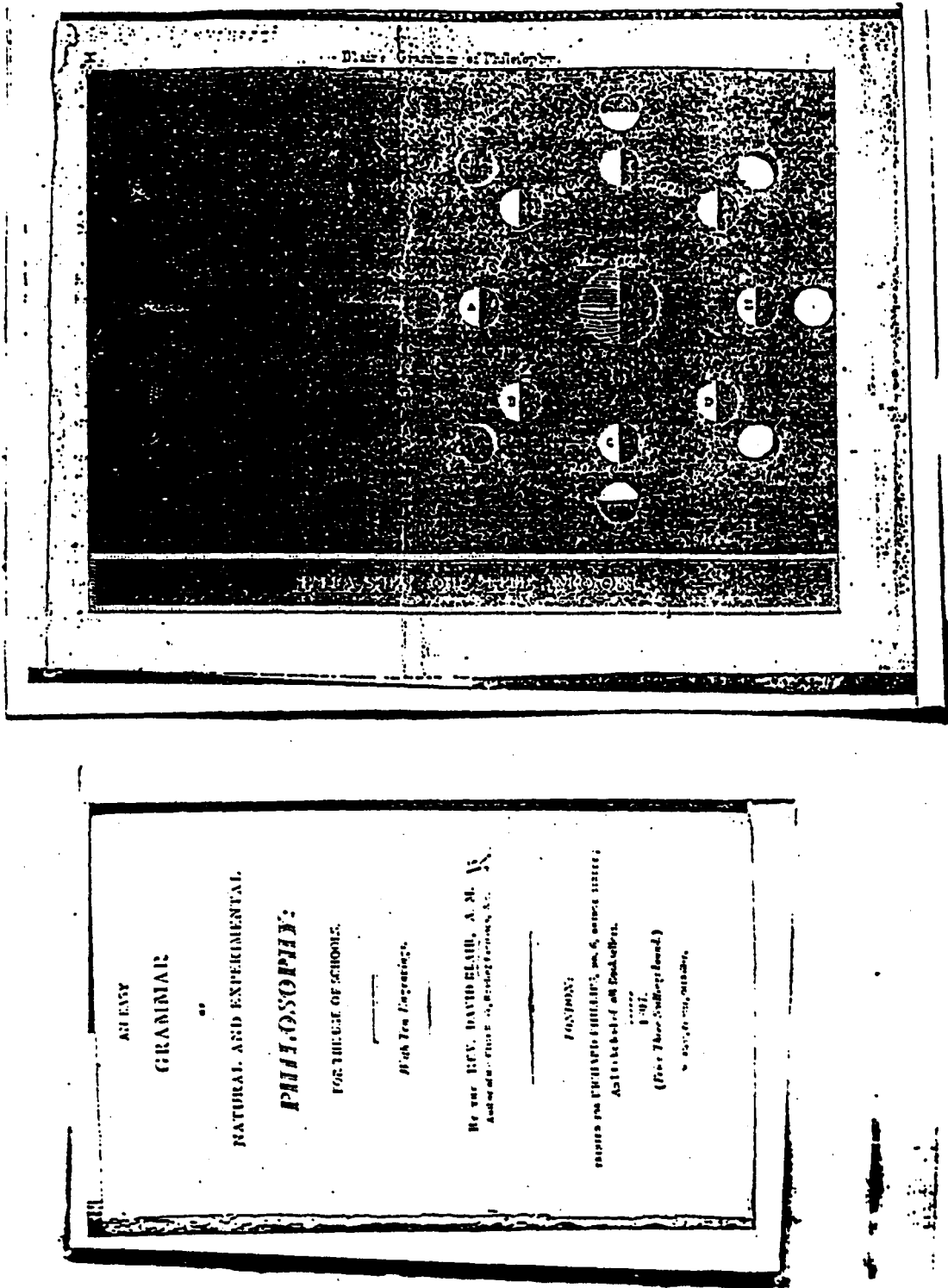


Figure 42. Title page and frontispiece from *An Easy Grammar of Natural and Experimental Philosophy*. 1807

of his [Joyce's] Scientific Dialogues we can speak with unqualified approbation, and recommend them to be read as a pleasing companion to Blair's Grammar of Natural Philosophy.¹⁷⁸

These two books deal with the same subjects in a very similar order and use many of the same examples and illustrations. In the task of preparing the *Easy Grammar*, Joyce could simply reach to his own shelves and use his own *Dialogues* as the source. It is not possible to specify how long it took Joyce to complete the task but having a source he knew well and a format that he had already worked with, probably meant that this was not the hardest or longest commission he ever undertook.

Phillips developed a series of Easy Grammars and the format of *An Easy Grammar of Natural Philosophy* is exactly the same as Goldsmith's *Easy Grammar of Geography* (1803), compiled by Joyce, which by 1807 had become a highly successful educational format. Phillips's Grammars became a recognisable brand and their presentational style was standardised. Once the brand was established it was fairly simple for Phillips to use the same recipe again. He could commission an author, get some illustrative plates made and either use a pseudonym or use the name of a recognised author, to produce a further extension to his range of schoolbooks.

The preface to the *Easy Grammar* claimed that the definitions which open each subsection had been 'written with a studied brevity in order that they be learnt by rote'.¹⁷⁹ Such definitions are statements which have been formed as answers to questions. For instance, the definition: 2. The inherent properties of matter are solidity, divisibility, mobility and inertness', is the answer to the

¹⁷⁸Samuel Catlow's revision of Joshua Collins's *A guide in the selection and use of elementary School-Books* (T.Hamilton, 1818), p. 84.

¹⁷⁹*Grammar* preface p. iv.

question placed at the end of the section 'what are the properties of matter'?¹⁸⁰ However, the pedagogical design is more sophisticated than simply rote learning and the preface emphasises that children can only really learn if they submit definitions to memory as well as working - and work is italicised throughout the preface to emphasise its importance - through examples.

He who only reads about a science can be nothing more than a smatterer, while he who commits its terms and elementary principles to memory and applies them by his own act to the various combinations of the science, soon becomes a master of it.¹⁸¹

Each definition is followed by brief illustrations and experiments constrained to 3 or 4 line paragraphs which supplied instances in which the student could apply the definitions. In most sections a corollary traced the implications of the experiments to supply a logical deduction of the original definition. Such corollaries were designed to be interesting to the reader in that they might state something deduced from the definition and proven by the experiments, at the same time as making a counter-intuitive claim.

Corollary. Therefore water, air and all other fluids, are in a certain space equally solid with the hardest body.

Thus Joyce crafted packages of scientific knowledge into bite size chunks that took the reader through experiments and trains of logical thinking to interesting conclusions. This was not boring or unsophisticated teaching, but a carefully constructed educational technique.

6.4.7 Gregory's Dictionary

In the early nineteenth century encyclopaedia publishing was booming.¹⁸² The spur to Phillips's involvement, was a project commenced in 1802 by the theologian and mathematician Olinthus

¹⁸⁰ibid., p. 1 & 10.

¹⁸¹ibid., preface, p. ii/iii.

¹⁸²Robert Collinson, *Encyclopaedias: Their History Throughout the ages* (New York: Hafner, 1966), p. 174

Gregory (1774-1841) and the physician John Mason Good (1764-1827), to produce a Universal Dictionary. In recalling the inception of the project, Olinthus Gregory commented:

....shortly afterwards a speculating bookseller [Phillips] who had ascertained that this Universal Dictionary was in preparation, with a view to anticipate us both in object and name, commenced the publication of a new Cyclopedia of which Dr. [George] Gregory was announced as editor, while in fact, the late Mr Jeremiah Joyce was the principal, if not the only, person engaged in the work.¹⁸³

George Gregory DD (1754-1805), a prolific writer on a range of subjects including natural philosophy, settled in London in 1782 and was the evening preacher at the Foundling Hospital. He was presented to the living of West Ham in 1802, becoming the Prebendary of St Pauls and chaplain to the Bishop of Llandaff in 1806. In politics he changed from Whig to Tory.¹⁸⁴ In 1806 Phillips fell out with John Aiken, the then editor of Phillips's *Monthly Magazine* and replaced him with Gregory. To the public Gregory could be presented as a man of letters possessing a sound pedigree in theology, natural philosophy and education - a liberal minded churchman in whose hands knowledge was both sanctified and suitably edited in the interests of truth and duty. For the expensive enterprise of the *Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*, Phillips would have been unlikely to risk the negative associations of radicalism and Unitarianism linked with Joyce. Gregory, on the other hand, could be marketed as a legitimate author and overseer of a large corpus of knowledge for public consumption.

Joyce started work on the project around the middle of 1805 and took roughly 18 months to produce the two large and heavily illustrated quarto volumes published in February 1807 and sold

¹⁸³Olinthus Gregory, *Memoirs of the life writings and character, literary and professional, and religious, of the late John Mason Good, M.D* (Henry Fisher, 1828), p. 88.

¹⁸⁴DNB.

at 115s.¹⁸⁵ There were no further English editions, although an American edition appeared in 1821. The advertisement for volume one describes the work and promises three benefits to the potential owner. Firstly, that it was a compendium of all human knowledge - 'practical rather than speculative'; secondly that it is a convenient portable size (a curious claim as it is very thick and heavy!!); and thirdly that it was 'Printed to correspond with the Quarto edition of Dr Johnson's Dictionary; and that the possessor of both works will have in 4 quarto volumes, and at moderate expense, all the literary aid which the English student or reader can possibly require'. There was a new edition of *Dr Johnson's Dictionary* in 1807 published by Joseph Johnson and a large conger. *Gregory's Dictionary* is strikingly similar in physical size and appearance, suggesting that Phillips had co-ordinated production with Johnson over points of design and layout.

Joyce had been writing entries for *Rees's Cyclopaedia* produced by Longmans from 1802 and had therefore acquired first-hand experience of a large enterprise. However, this was the first time he was responsible for the compilation of such a large work which resulted in a densely packed two volume quarto with small type in three columns per page, with 960 pages in volume one and 928 pages in volume two. This was a significant task which had a deleterious effect on Joyce's health.¹⁸⁶ Joyce had to work quickly to build a compilation from a wide range of sources. Quite what proportion of the text Joyce wrote himself is unclear, but he would have had to prepare the various contributions in alphabetical order and write many of the smaller entries himself, no doubt using a wide range of sources. Gregory's preface acknowledged Joyce as assistant and also as being in charge of a particular subject area:

¹⁸⁵R.A.Peddie, *English Catalogue of Books 1801-1836* (New York: Kraus Reprint Co, 1963).

¹⁸⁶Waller, *Imperial Dictionary*. Joyce entry.

To his industrious and truly able coadjutor, the Rev. Mr. Joyce, he is indebted for much general assistance, and for the exclusive superintendence of all the mathematical and astronomical articles.

It is not clear what 'exclusive superintendence' means, but there are extensive entries for the various subdivisions of mathematics. The entry on astronomy is also substantial, comprising 40 columns with 7 tables and 3 full page plates covering the history of astronomy as well as contemporary astronomical knowledge.

The lineage of Encyclopaedic Dictionaries shows a development through an alphabetically arranged but systematic treatment of topics in the eighteenth century, to nineteenth century reference works in which connected sub-topics were classified more strictly under their alphabetical listing.¹⁸⁷ At the back of each volume of *Gregory's Dictionary* there is an 'Index to the treatises'. This is a thematic index giving a list of the sequential subsections of a particular topic. Thus under Geometry there are the subsections 'Algebra and Geometry, Definition of Geometry, Explanation of Terms, Problems in Geometry, Usefulness of Geometry' listed on sequential pages. The index is only partial however: some topics actually treated, for instance the large section on comparative anatomy, do not appear anywhere in the index. The index was therefore a partial attempt to accommodate the impulse for systematic organisation wherein a topic could be comprehensively treated and its extent fully circumscribed. But the reader could not rely on the index alone and had to check the alphabetical position of the entry sought. As a result the thematic index unwittingly added a level of complexity to the internal topography of the work as it could not be wholly relied on by a reader trying to navigate its pages.

One of the most interesting features of Joyce's role in *Gregory's Dictionary* is that immediately following the production of the eventual volumes, Joyce became employed by Longmans on behalf

¹⁸⁷Tom McArthur, *Worlds of reference* (Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 110-133

a large conger, as managing editor to produce *The British Encyclopaedia or Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* (1809) known as *Nicholson's Encyclopedia* (discussed below). The two works are recorded as being 'framed in opposition' and 'bitter rivals' to one another.¹⁸⁸ Yet through the period of production of *Nicholson's Encyclopedia*, Joyce was still publishing with and taking commissions from Richard Phillips. Furthermore, more than half the text of *Gregory's Dictionary* appears verbatim in *Nicholson's Encyclopedia*, strongly suggesting that Joyce was able to take the manuscript of one and use it as the basis for the other, and that this was in fact an agreement made in the full knowledge of all the publishers.

Both Phillips and Longmans produced relatively cheap reference works. The enormous number and size of the volumes of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* and *Rees's Cyclopaedia* rendered them beyond the purchasing power of anybody other than wealthy individuals or societies. There was clearly a lower middle class market that might be able to afford 5 or 6 guineas for a family reference work and it was to this market that Phillips and Longmans appealed. In order to do so however, they needed an experienced compiler who could organise the works at a low cost. Phillips was the sole publisher of *Gregory's Dictionary* which would have cost a large amount to prepare thorough payment of Joyce, Gregory and other writers, the costs of the plates and the eventual production of 6,000 copies of the work each containing 2000 sheets. The manuscript of *Gregory's Dictionary* may have been sold to Longman as a way of recovering some of these costs. Furthermore, Joyce who knew the manuscript well, was well placed to take charge of the Longman project.

¹⁸⁸James P. Walsh, *General Encyclopedias in Print* (Newark USA: Reference Book Research Service, 1964), p. 40; DNB, William Nicholson entry.

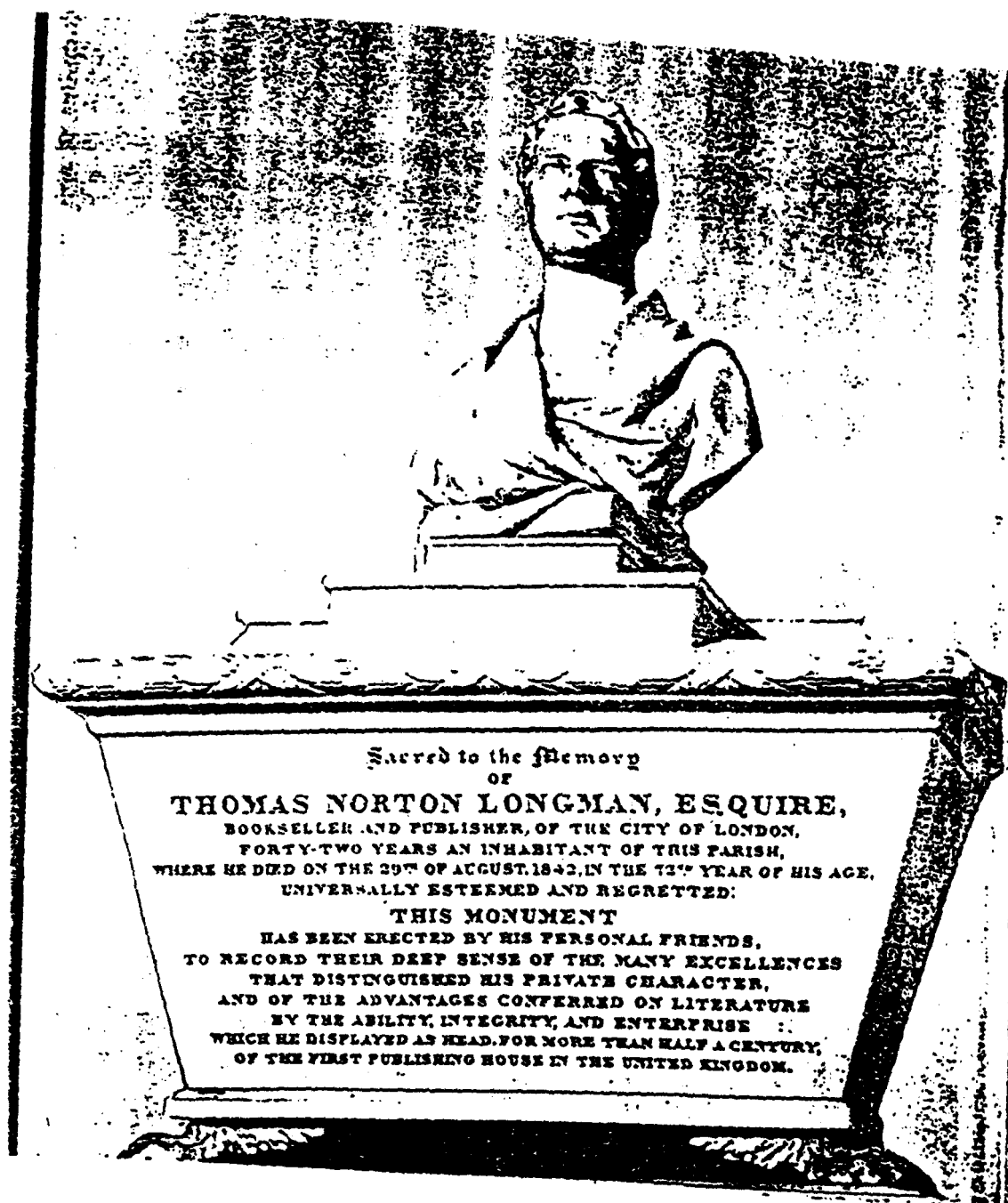


Figure 43. Thomas Norton Longman. Reproduced as the frontispiece of Phillip Wallis, *At the Sign of the Ship 1724-1974* (Essex: Longman, 1974).

6.5.1 Publishing with the firm of Longmans. *Nicholson's Encyclopaedia*.

Thomas Norton Longman developed the firm of Longman from a booksellers' shop to a complex organisation with several departments.¹⁸⁹ Longman was well disposed to Unitarians: his first partner, Owen Rees (1770-1864), was a Unitarian. The first project in which Joyce had any direct contact with Longmans was Abraham Rees's *Cyclopedia*. This was an enormous project published between 1802 and 1819 in parts or half issues representing 39 4to volumes and 6 volumes of illustrations.¹⁹⁰ Aspland claimed that Joyce made 'large contributions' to the work and Rees, who had been one of Joyce's teachers at Hackney acknowledged Joyce's contribution of 'a variety of miscellaneous articles', although it has not been possible to identify which these were.¹⁹¹ Joyce may have attended the winter 'Soirees' held by Longmans, which collected nearly all the contributors to the new *Cyclopedia*.¹⁹² The *Cyclopedia* was a major literary enterprise considered subversive in some circles.¹⁹³ It drew the fire of the *Anti-Jacobin Review* who saw its members engaged in 'a new vehicle of infidelity' - yet another Jacobin plot along the lines perpetrated by the French intellectuals who compiled the *Encyclopedie* and who, the *Anti-Jacobin* claimed, were instrumental in producing the French Revolution.¹⁹⁴

Despite rabid attacks from the *Anti-Jacobin* who continued to berate producers of educational works and accuse Unitarians of promoting the cause of the French Revolution, the market for educational books continued to grow. Longmans clearly had a positive view of Joyce and his work and were keen to use him as an editor and trade off the success of his *Scientific Dialogues*. The

¹⁸⁹Phillip Wallis, *At the Sign of the Ship 1724-1974* (Essex: Longman, 1974), p. 15.

¹⁹⁰Rees, *Cyclopedia*.

¹⁹¹*ibid.*, preface to the 1819 edition, p. iv.

¹⁹²Thomas Rees, *Reminiscences of Literary London from 1779 to 1853* (Garland, 1974), p. 50/1.

¹⁹³A.P Woolrich, 'John Farey, Jr, technical author and draughtsman: his contribution to Rees's *Cyclopedia*, *Industrial Archaeology Review*, 20, (1998), 49 -67 (p.59).

¹⁹⁴*Anti-Jacobin Review* (June 1812) Review of Rees's *Cyclopedia*, pp 178-190 (p.182).

remaining Longman archives record Joyce's activities in three projects, the first of which was *Nicholson's Encyclopedia*, for which Joyce was paid a monthly wage.

The British Encyclopaedia or Dictionary of Arts and Sciences (1809) is a six volume octavo in two columns per page published by a huge conger whose principal organiser was Longmans and included Joseph Johnson and Richard Phillips.¹⁹⁵ (Figure 43). There were twenty eight subscribers to the project although only twenty three names appear on the title page - the other five contributors were private sponsors. In total there were 128 shares valued at £77-10s each, of which Longmans held 40, representing an impressive total investment of £9,920.¹⁹⁶ The work was initially sold in twelve parts and John Aiken's monthly periodical *Athenaeum*, published by Longmans, advertised part one in the March 1808 at 10s-6d sewn, promising eleven further monthly issues.¹⁹⁷ However, it was always the intention to sell the *British Encyclopedia* as a complete set, and in March 1809 the *Athenaeum* advertised the work in six volumes in boards at 6 guineas.¹⁹⁸ There was one print-run of 6,000 complete sets but no further English editions although, there were three American editions to 1821. If all sets were sold at 126s - six guineas - then the total capital recovery would have been 36,000 guineas - offering a handsome return on the £9,920 initial investment. For this project, Joyce would have been a very attractive option. Not only did he have considerable compiling experience and a substantial network of contributory authors, but most importantly, he came armed with a lot of completed text. The Longmans project could be sold to the investors as part complete, and with Longman's own store of published works on hand to use as sources, it promised a speedy return on investment.

¹⁹⁵William Nicholson, *The British Encyclopaedia or Dictionary of Arts and Sciences Comprising An accurate and Popular view of the Present Improved State of Human Knowledge* (Longmans et al, 1809).

¹⁹⁶Longmas MSS. Records of the *British Encyclopedia* are in Divide (D1) and Expense Ledgers (A1 & A2) and the Impression Book.

¹⁹⁷*Atheneum*, Mar., 1808.

¹⁹⁸*Atheneum*, Mar., 1809.

NEW BRITISH ENCYCLOPEDIA,

TO BE COMPLETED IN THE YEAR 1808.

ON MONDAY, FEBRUARY 1, WILL BE PUBLISHED,

PART I.

PRICE TEN SHILLINGS AND SIXPENCE,

OF THE

BRITISH ENCYCLOPEDIA,

OR

Dictionary of Arts and Sciences;

COMPRISING

AN ACCURATE AND POPULAR VIEW

OF THE

PRESENT IMPROVED STATE OF HUMAN KNOWLEDGE.

BY WILLIAM NICHOLSON,

Author and Proprietor of the Philosophical Journal, and various other Chemical, Philosophical, and Mathematical Works.

CONDITIONS.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>I. The Work will be printed by WHITTINGHAM, on fine yellow wove Demy Paper, in Octavo, with double columns, and a beautiful new Brevier Type: and in order to insure a superior style in the execution, the price agreed to be paid for the printing will be nearly double the usual charge.</p> | <p>II. The publication will be completed in Twelve Monthly Parts, commencing on the first of February, 1808, price Ten Shillings and Sixpence each: the whole forming Six large Octavo Volumes, illustrated by about Two Hundred elegant Engravings by LOWY and SCOTT.</p> |
|---|--|

LONDON:

PRINTED BY C. WHITTINGHAM,
Gundell Street;

FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, AND ORME, PATERNOSTER-ROW;

J. JOHNSON; R. BALDWIN; W. J. AND J. RICHARDSON; W. OTTIDGE AND SON; P. AND C. RIVINGTON; A. FRANKLIN; J. PAYNE; J. STOCKDALE; G. WILKIE; SCATCHERD AND LETTERMAN; J. WALKER, W. LARKE AND SON; CUTHELL AND MARTIN; R. LEA; LACKINGTON AND CO.; P. WYNNE; W. MARCH; G. KEARSLEY; H. D. SYMONDS; VERNOR AND HOOD; J. BUTTERWORTH; J. AND A. ARCH; CADELL AND DAVIES; R. PHILLIPS; S. BAGSTER; J. MANNING; R. C. COLLEY; AND WILSON AND SPENCE.

Figure 44. Advertisement for *Nicholson's British Encyclopedia*. 1808.

In Nicholson's section of the preface devoted to acknowledging the writers, the following appears.

The mathematical articles, including the mixed subjects of Astronomy, Optics, Phonics, Statics and many others were drawn up by a popular author who is well known for his writings on these subjects.

As the 'popular author' was well known, the reason for not including his name alongside the other names that are mentioned, is left mysterious. The decision to omit Joyce's name when it was common knowledge in literary circles that Joyce was the real editor, may have been forced, through concern that Joyce's name would offend either the investors or the potential purchasers.

William Nicholson (1753 -1815) is referred to as a chemist and inventor.¹⁹⁹ In his early life he had visited the East Indies, and on his return became the commercial agent for Josiah Wedgwood and started a school of mathematics in 1776/7. His first publication was the two volume *Introduction to Natural Philosophy* (1781) and he went on to publish widely in mathematics and other subjects, and to translate several French works in chemistry. He researched into galvanism and gave papers to the Royal Society. He published a *Journal of Natural Philosophy* - known as *Nicholson's Journal* - in 1797 and, interestingly, he wrote *A Dictionary of Practical and Theoretical Chemistry and The Arts* published by Richard Phillips in the same year as *Nicholson's Encyclopaedia* (1808). Nicholson appears, like Joyce, to have operated with a number of publishers and had a network of authors producing commissioned work for different projects. Nicholson had a prestigious yet safe reputation associated with foreign travels, scholarly activity and a sense of commercial and civic endeavour. He certainly had a more socially acceptable pedigree than did Joyce and his selection as the principal for the Longmans project made sound

¹⁹⁹DNB, Nicholson entry.

business sense. The Longman records show that Nicholson was involved in the project although he received no regular payments but was paid for individual contributions.

Nicholson's Encyclopedia was completed within only eighteen months and Joyce began the project immediately after finishing *Gregory's Dictionary*, therefore spending a solid 30 months compiling encyclopaedic dictionaries. Joyce made a fairly good living from the project. He received £50 per month for his editorial and compiling duties from February 1808 until January 1809, but also receiving additional amounts for his articles (one payment in January 1808 of £25 1 4s 2d), indicating that, for Longmans, he had two distinct roles - that of editor/compiler and that of writer. The picture given by the accounts is that Joyce was effectively the editor of the whole project and that he parcelled out work to various people - notably his two Unitarian friends Lant Carpenter and William Shepherd.

Joyce had only two to three months to prepare each issue. This was a demanding task given a work of such size and must have encouraged him to use as much text from *Gregory's Dictionary* as possible. The first alphabetical numbers were printed first and volume 1 had a large first print run of 6500, with volume 2 at 6250 and volume 3 at 6100. The slightly higher print-run figures of the early volumes were due to review copies sent out for advertising purposes. Joyce developed a robust and workman-like attitude to the task which he described to William Shepherd saying that 'tomorrow I will look after Aristotle', and telling of how he offered 'grammar to [John] Corrie' who refused, and how he then offered it to Lant Carpenter who accepted it.²⁰⁰

Nicholson's Encyclopaedia is organised strictly alphabetically and avoids many of the complications of the thematic compilation of *Gregory's Dictionary*. The pages were not numbered and relied exclusively on the reader's ability to navigate by the alphabet. The benefits of an invariant series were threefold. Firstly, such a system resolved many of the dilemmas of

²⁰⁰Shepherd MSS, vol. 8, No 89, Joyce to Shepherd 1808.

compilation; secondly, it was an easier and more consistent system for composers and the technologies of book production; and thirdly, it provided a more consistent internal geography of the work and therefore facilitated easy use by the reader.

The problems caused by the part-thematic and part-alphabetical organisation in *Gregory's Dictionary* are resolved to a large extent in *Nicholson's Encyclopedia*. Joyce had to make a large number of decisions over whether to divide or unite subtopics. For instance the large entry on 'Filtration' of which the text is 90% the same in both works, is presented as one entry in *Nicholson's Encyclopedia* whereas in *Gregory's Dictionary* it appears in three entries - under Filter, Filtering and Filtration within the treatise on Chemistry. Joyce's editorial work reflects a process of designing and shaping a new product. He lengthened some entries - for instance the entry on comparative anatomy for instance is almost three times longer in *Nicholson's Encyclopedia*. He reduced other entries for instance the entry on trigonometry is shorter and a lot of the detail and working out of examples has been removed. In such a general reference work, hard mathematics may not have been considered appropriate on grounds that it might frighten non-mathematicians.

Some etymological transitions are revealed through comparisons of the two works. *Gregory's Dictionary* for instance, has no entry for 'Science' yet *Nicholson's Encyclopedia* provides 'Science, in philosophy denotes any doctrine deduced from self evident and certain principles, by a regular demonstration'. Both works have entries for 'Newtonian Philosophy' and *Nicholson's Encyclopedia* also has a biographical entry on 'Newton'. However, Phillips, who was anti-Newtonian, may have had a hand in *Gregory's Dictionary's* definition of natural philosophy which reads 'that which considers the powers and properties of natural bodies, and their action on one another', continuing 'Natural Philosophy is, however, obviously, rather a system or aggregate of several branches of knowledge' and goes on to list them. Whereas *Nicholson's Encyclopedia* is far

more specific and gives 'Natural Philosophy otherwise called physics - laws of Nature which are certain axioms, or general rules of motion and rest' and then goes on to list Newton's laws.

Because so much of the same material is used in both texts, study of these two works exposes some interesting and subtle transitions in the presentation of science. Further study is required to detail those changes but in general *Gregory's Dictionary* is weighted to presenting science as novel and entertaining, with its workings accessible to the educated general reader and dressed in the elaborate trappings of eighteenth century polite culture. By contrast *Nicholson's Encyclopedia* anticipates a more eclectic readership. The separately published Prospectus for *Nicholson's Encyclopaedia* claimed that 'Our method will be popular without departing from strictness and precision'.²⁰¹ By 'popular' the publishers were cultivating several advertising lines designed to appeal to the market for educational reference works: popular in the sense that many would be likely to desire the work; popular in the sense of being easy to read; and popular in the sense of not being intended simply for elite social groups. Joyce's editorial pen, constrained within the commercial directives of a large publishing speculation, was forced to develop a new product from something that appealed to an older set of values.

6.5.2 Familiar Introduction to the Arts and Sciences for the Use of Schools²⁰²

Joyce received 50 percent of all profits relating to the *Familiar Introduction* (1810).²⁰³ The half profits system, rather than outright sale of copyright or fixed fee commission, began to be popular from the early nineteenth century, especially by authors who had a reasonable expectation of reprints.²⁰⁴ The agreement however, did not provide very large sums and his first profits were not registered until 1813 when he received a mere £13.14.4. He received a further £36 in 1814 on

²⁰¹Prospectus for *Nicholson's Encyclopedia* in BL Tracts, 816.L.47 pp 7-10, p. 9.

²⁰²Jeremiah Joyce, *Familiar Introduction to the Arts and Sciences for the Use of Schools* (Longmans, 1810)

²⁰³Longman MSS, MS1396, D1, p. 174.

²⁰⁴Robert Feather, *A History of British Publishing* (Croom Helm, 1988), p. 170.

sales from the first print run of 2000 copies in 1810. The second print run of 2000 in 1814 sold out after Joyce's death 1816 and the royalties presumably went to his wife.

The *Familiar Introduction* sold at 6s in boards. It is a compendium of numbered statement to be learned by rote. The *Monthly Review* recommended 'the volume to parents and instructors as containing much useful matter in a cheap and convenient form', commenting that:

The plan is very comprehensive especially when compared to the size of the volume: since in the compass of between 3 and 400 small pages, we have the principles of 30 different arts and sciences.²⁰⁵

The range of subjects represented in the *Familiar Introduction* reveals Joyce's educational perspective and represents what he thought an appropriate curriculum. The work opens with sections on Grammar and Logic and moves through Geography, Chronology, Artificial Memory, Mythology, History, the subdivisions of mathematics and natural philosophy and ending with Chemistry, Mineralogy, Botany and Natural History. Each section is divided into lessons which comprise between 7 and 18 numbered statements, some with illustrative examples. Each lesson ends with a set of questions equivalent to the number of statements and designed to illicit a repetition of the original statement. The work was designed as both a home reference work and a basis for classroom teaching: it was not designed to be a course which students would necessarily read from front to back.

The format of numbered statements and questions is consistent throughout. However, Joyce used different educational devices with respect to particular subject areas. The different techniques reflect different sets of pedagogical assumptions about both the subject matter and the appropriate educational technique necessary to teach that area. To complement the Geography section he added exercises in which the student was required to trace a route. In the various mathematics

²⁰⁵*Monthly Review*, Nov. 1811, pp 318 - 320.

sections he gave worked examples, and in the science sections he provided experiments as proofs of the numbered statements and, where necessary, further explanations. Thus whilst the format of the text is consistent, the knowledge in each subject has a different set of epistemological features in which different pedagogical styles were deployed. In the traditional area of Grammar, whilst illustrative examples are given, there is no other educational device other than rote learning: The student is required simply to memorise:

An intransitive verb is one in which the action does not pass over to, nor affect any other person or thing: as, I am loved, I run, I walk, &c.²⁰⁶

In the Geography section one question required a rote response to 'How is the level of a continent obtained?', but also requires the student to 'Trace with a pencil the level of the old continent according to exercise 1. Point out the principal chains of mountains according to exercise 2', therefore requiring the student to do something as part of the process of learning.²⁰⁷

In the section on Galvanism Volta's batteries and Davy's voltaic pile (Figure 44) the statement and the question are given in terms of the explanatory usefulness of the new discoveries:

5. By means of these batteries the alkalies, some of the earths, sulphur, and other bodies, have been decomposed, which were, till lately, considered as simple bodies.

5. What effects have been produced by these batteries?²⁰⁸

In the natural history section under the lesson on Mammalia, after a statement '11. The felis, or cat genus, has retractile claws and easily climbs trees', an illustration of a lion is given with a description of the Lion which includes:

²⁰⁶Joyce, *Familiar Introduction*, p. 12.

²⁰⁷*ibid.*, p. 82.

²⁰⁸*ibid.*, p. 253 & p. 254.

QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION.

1. In what case is iron attracted by the magnet?
2. Is the attraction of the magnet and iron mutual? Mention the experiment to prove this.
3. Where is the attraction the strongest?
4. Is the magnetic attraction diminished by the interposition of other bodies? What experiment proves this?
5. In what situation does iron become a magnet?
6. Does the air affect the properties of the magnet?
7. Has heat any effect on the power of the magnet?
8. How is iron often rendered magnetical?
9. How is the power of a magnet strengthened?
10. In what position should magnets be kept?
11. In which hemisphere do the poles of magnets act best?
12. How is an artificial magnet made?
13. Is the power of the magnet diminished by communicating its properties to iron?
14. Can two or more magnets communicate to iron more power than either of them possesses singly?
15. Under what circumstances are iron bars found magnetical?
16. Of what does the mariner's compass consist? Give the illustration with the figure.
17. What is an azimuth compass?
18. What is the construction of the dipping needle?

CHEMISTRY.

First Lesson. Attraction. Caloric.

1. CHEMISTRY is the science which investigates the effects of the action of bodies upon each other, to determine their constituent principles, and to form new compounds.

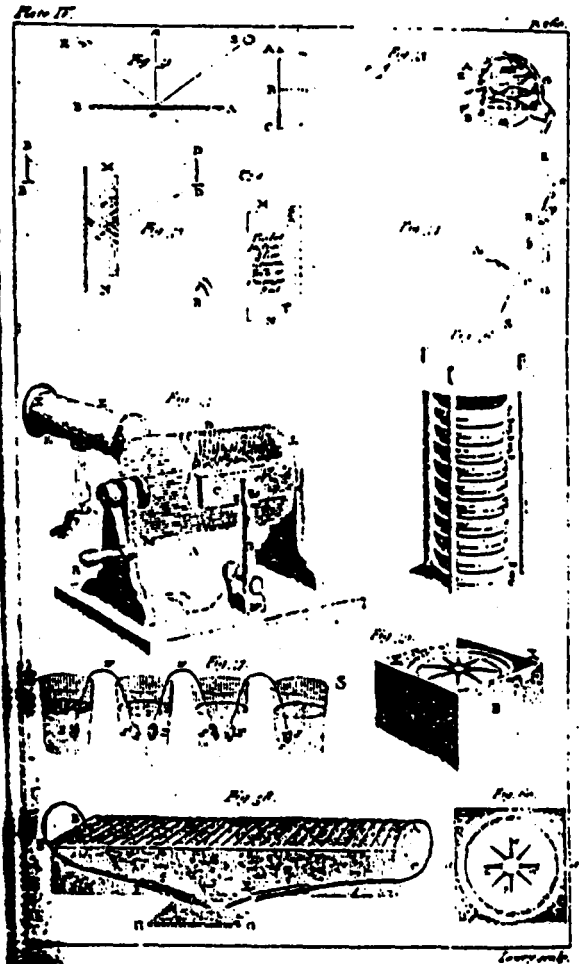


Figure 45. Questions for examination and illustration from *Familiar Introduction to the Arts and Sciences*. 1810.

It is afraid of flame; is restrained by dogs; easily tamed when young: it roars horribly; sleeps in the sun; eats every third day; and its flesh is eaten by the Americans'.²⁰⁹

To which the related question is '11. How is the cat genus distinguished? What is said of the lion and the tiger?'.²¹⁰ The standard rote answer is required, but the student also has to report some fantastical descriptions which are 'said' to describe the lion and which therefore rest on the observations of travellers.²¹¹ Thus Joyce used rote learning as the basic pedagogical formula, as a textual strategy and as a consistent format with which to build a educational compendium, but he also managed to inject different qualities relating to the different subject areas. The different subjects have different characteristics; Grammar as rule governed, Geography as requiring the ability to use maps, mathematics as very hard, science as revealing nature's secrets and natural history as exhibiting fantastical features of the natural world.

By 1810 Joyce had written on most of the areas covered and he was able to adapt his own material to suit this new project. It is possible that Joyce had compiled material on Grammar, Logic and Rhetoric whilst working for Richard Phillips, which was published under one of the many pseudonyms Phillips used. However, the *Familiar Introduction* contains the first proven examples of Joyce's work on these subjects. The lengthy section on Logic is a demanding section, especially for students who did not possess the advantage of schooling in the classics. It used Lockean categories to present a metaphysics of learning as well as a rudimentary introduction to philosophy. The following extracts are from lesson 1:

1. There are two modes of perception, viz. sensation and reflection.
4. A sensation is the impression made upon the mind by an object actually present;
an idea is a revived impression in the absence of an object.

²⁰⁹ibid., p. 310.

²¹⁰ibid., p. 315.

²¹¹ibid.

5. Ideas are either simple or complex.²¹²

Lesson 2 further developed the nature of ideas; lesson 3 described the relations between ideas and words; Lesson 5 introduced definitions; Lesson 5 on Judgement, testimony and propositions included definitions of consciousness and intuition:

4. Consciousness is the mind's perception of its own existence

6. Intuition is the instant perception of the relation between two ideas; as, "the whole is greater than any of its parts, and equal to all its parts."²¹³

Lesson 6 'Of Reasoning' introduced different forms of syllogistic reasoning, induction and analogy; Lesson 7 gave different types of argumentation; and lesson 8 gave definitions of 'Sophisms' in which Joyce revealed his Unitarian colours in:

2. "A mistake of the question;" that is, when a proposition is proved which has no necessary connection with the question: this is called "ignorantio elenchi:" as if unbelievers argue that Christianity is not true, because "transubstantiation is incredible:" here is a mistake of the question by taking a corruption of Christianity for Christianity itself.²¹⁴

In a fairly low cost general knowledge compendium aimed at the rising market for school textbooks, he could have left such philosophical material out. His Unitarian vision however, required that students understand the operations of reason in order to have a fuller understanding of the works of God and therefore a more truly religious relationship with Him. For Joyce, understanding the operations of the rational mind was an essential part of education.

The work was packed with facts and information which formed the basis of a liberal education.

It is a simple and clear formulation that nevertheless manages to signal different textures to the

²¹²ibid., p. 26/7.

²¹³ibid., p. 33; For the source of these ideas as Lockean see John W. Yolton (ed.) John Locke, *An Essay on Human Understanding* (Dent, 1961), p. 272 & 162.

²¹⁴Joyce, *Familiar Introduction*, p. 43.

subjects it presents. It was a very successful publication over the long term and was part of the highly popular Bohn's Scientific Library in 1852 from which it was reprinted as late as 1871. Its claim of being a 'Familiar Introduction' is well deserved. Its success lay both in its utility and its unassuming simplicity in presenting the basic features of a wide range of subjects with clarity and brevity.

6.5.3 *Kendall's Pocket Encyclopedia*

Edward Augustus Kendall (1776?-1842) wrote a number of successful children's books.²¹⁵ His *Pocket Encyclopedia or a Dictionary of Arts, Sciences and Polite Literature. Compiled from the Best Authorities*, was originally published by William Peacock and a conger in 1802, and was produced in 6 volumes in three different and small sizes - 24mo, 18mo and 12mo - retailing at 18s.²¹⁶ Longmans, on the behalf of a conger which included most of the publishers involved in the original, commissioned Joyce to compile a new edition which was issued under the same title and sold as 'corrected and enlarged' in 1811. The new edition changed considerably in format - from 6 slim volumes to 4 thicker 12 mo volumes, and retailed at the increased price of £1 and 4s.²¹⁷

Its pocket-size and mixture of entertaining and educational contents were clearly designed to attract well-off purchasers and parents. Joyce's preface states that the work was increased in size by one third and offered:

A multitude of facts which will instantly delight and surprise the Youthful reader! and in no instance has anything been inserted that can offend the delicacy of the purest mind.²¹⁸

²¹⁵DNB, Kendall entry.

²¹⁶Peddie, *English Catalogue of Books*. Under Miscellaneous. Mar. 1802. Edward Augustus Kendall, *Pocket Encyclopedia or a Dictionary of Arts, Sciences and Polite Literature. Compiled from the Best Authorities*(Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Co., J. Harris, Scathherd & Letterman, Peacock & Bampton, Wilkie & Robinson & R. Baldwin, 1811. 1st edition published by W. Peacock, J. Wallis & J. Harris, 1802).

²¹⁷*London Catalogue of Books* (W. Bent. 1822).

²¹⁸Kendall, *Pocket Encyclopedia*, 1811 edn., Preface, p. ii/iii.

The promise of safe entertainment presented within the limitations and constraints of polite literature, was a major selling point of the work. A potential purchaser might read Joyce's preface and then scan the pages to encounter some of the impressive and sometimes fantastical illustrations. All of the original illustrations and entries concerned with Natural History were retained in the 1811 edition. Figure 46 shows the entry and accompanying illustration of a supposed 'Orang Outang' with very human-like features, re-published by J. Harris, a member of the congers financing both 1802 and 1811 editions. The related entry uses a mild but measured sense of excitement and danger in describing the supposed activities of the Orang Outang which was known to:

..carry off women to its wretched habitation, watching them with extraordinary vigilance, as scarcely to admit the possibility of their escape.²¹⁹

However, Joyce was clearly given licence to make considerable changes and whilst the title retained the sense of social respectability invested in the term 'Polite Literature', his preface states that:

The former edition was composed chiefly with a view to Polite Literature and the Arts; in the present is combined a vast quantity of materials connected with the sciences so denominated.²²⁰

The fact that Joyce replaced most of the 'polite' content of the work, relating to social deportment and refined literature, with scientific subjects which included explanations, experiments and worked examples, may reflect the changes in publishers' estimations of the potential market. As a publishing project, the *Pocket Encyclopedia* retained its commercial potential, but the market was shifting and diversifying. Through the early nineteenth century the potential purchasers of relatively high cost books began to include increasing numbers of the aspiring middle classes, who

²¹⁹ibid., vol. 4, Simia entry.

²²⁰ibid., Preface, p. i.

224

SIMI

SIXTA, the ape, in natural history, a genus of the class Mammalia, of the order Primates. Animals of this genus are commonly divided into such as have no tails; such as have only very short ones; such as have very long ones, and such as have prehensile tails, with which they can lay hold of any object at pleasure. There are upwards of sixty species of this genus, of which we shall notice the *Simia Satyrus*, or Orang-Outang only. This animal is said to grow, in its native woods of Africa and India, to the height of six feet; and to subsist, like most other species, on fruits. It flies from the haunts of mankind, leads a solitary life, and displays great strength, agility, and swiftness, which render it extremely difficult to be taken. It has been known to attack and destroy Negroes wandering at a distance from their habitations, and to carry off women to its wretched habitation, watching them with such extraordinary vigilance, as scarcely to admit the possibility of their escape. Its general resemblance to the human figure and countenance is particularly and mortifyingly strong, yet minute observation and dissection have pointed almost innumerable differences, the detail of which is here impossible. It is capable of being tamed and domesticated, and, many years since, one was exhibited in London, which had been disciplined to sit, and work, and eat, like a human being, using a knife and fork for the latter purpose. Its disposition was pensive; its manners were gentle; and it appeared to possess, for its keepers, and those to whom it had been long familiarized, a high degree of genuine gratitude and attachment.

SIXONY, the crime of trafficking with sacred



Figure 46. Orang Outang. Illustration and entry from *Kendall's Pocket Encyclopedia*. Vol. 4.

might be persuaded into a purchase more by the educational benefits and contents of the work, than its pure entertainment value and polite credentials. The *Pocket Encyclopaedia's* celebration of polite culture, which continued to be used as a marketing device conferring aesthetic authority, reflected the values of the upper echelons of the social hierarchy to which many of the middle classes aspired, but from which they were largely excluded. This does not represent a major or sudden shift in the sentiments of the book-buying public, but it does reflect the increasing accommodation of concerns for utility and education in the strategies of the publishers involved.

Joyce addressed the work as a 'compilation' and he used his own material as sources.²²¹ The entries on Electricity, Chemistry, Botany and others, are adaptations from his other works. The mathematical entries use many of the same examples he used in his *System Of Practical Arithmetic* (1808), and the entries for Hydrostatics and Pneumatics are re-workings from the *Scientific Dialogues* (1800-03).

In addition to the discourses of entertainment, education and science, the text is also littered with moral messages and sermonising. For instance, the entry on atheism contains a relentless argument that the position of atheism is untenable. After lengthy proofs of the existence of God, the argument that the idea of a creator is 'taught and not natural', is presented as utterly ridiculous on grounds that the truth of revelation had been 'established beyond a possibility of a doubt'.²²²

Interestingly, Joyce entered entries for all the dissenting denominations including one lengthy entry for Unitarianism which is defined as 'humanitarian', and includes a selected list of important doctrines. The three doctrines given are:

1. Unity of God, perfect in every way,
2. His placability to repent sinners without any atonement.

²²¹ibid., Preface, p. i.

²²²ibid., vol. 1, Atheism entry.

3. Certainty of a life of retribution after death.²²³

No direct mention is made of the most objectionable doctrine of Unitarianism to the orthodox church - the human, rather than divine, origin and status of Christ. In a book designed for a middle-class readership and justified, ostensibly, by the respectable values of polite culture, Joyce quite cleverly presented Unitarianism to young readers, many of whose parents might have found his position objectionable.

6.5.4 Systematic Education

Systematic education or elementary instruction in the various departments of literature and science with practical rules for studying each branch of useful knowledge (1815), comprises two large octavo volumes of 520 pages each. The work is credited to the three Unitarians - William Shepherd, Jeremiah Joyce and Lant Carpenter (1780-1840).²²⁴ However, the Longmans archives show that whilst the trio had a half profits agreement with Longmans. Joyce received 27/80, Shepherd 5/80 and Carpenter 8/80, reflecting their respective shares in the work and their entitlement to resulting profits. Lant Carpenter wrote the substantial sections on mental and moral philosophy.²²⁵ Given that Shepherd's published works were literary and that there is no evidence of his writing in natural science, he probably wrote the sections on Belles Lettres and other literary subjects, including prose and poetry composition. Joyce was the largest and organising contributor and his 27/80 share represents the remaining two thirds of the work covering history, geography, chronology, the divisions of mathematics, natural history and natural philosophy. Shortly before Joyce died on 16 June 1816, he received the sum of £184 5s 8d as his share of profits, and a further sum of £100 was paid to his estate in December that year. The first print run of 1500 was

²²³ibid., vol. 4, Unitarianism entry.

²²⁴William Shepherd, Jeremiah Joyce and Lant Carpenter, *Systematic education or elementary instruction in the various departments of literature and science with practical rules for studying each branch of useful knowledge* (Longmans, 1815).

²²⁵DNB, Lant Carpenter entry.

nearly sold out by the end of 1816 and, had Joyce lived, he would have received a yearly sum of about £200 in royalties for the following years as *Systematic Education* was regularly reprinted, reaching its third edition in 1822.²²⁶

Longmans sold most copies wholesale at 22s 6d but sold some at a retail price of one and a half guineas.²²⁷ This was a substantial amount and beyond most pockets, but the work was partly contrived as a leaving home present for readers between 16-25 and designed to ensure such readers were not distracted by undesirable pastimes. Concerned parents, whilst not being able to equip their children with expensive encyclopaedias, may have invested one and half guineas in an attempt to ensure their sons filled their spare time usefully. As with most of Joyce's texts, the target audience was built from a number of constituencies. *Systematic Education* was also designed to be a textbook in 'those schools where instruction comprehends other objects besides the classics', meaning dissenting academies rather than public [fee-paying and generally Anglican] schools.²²⁸ Volume one opens with an 'Essay on Practical Education', which attacks the education received at public schools and the two English Universities. The attack on establishment education is pronounced. The essay describes the public schools as fostering 'meanness and hypocrisy', as teaching 'every thing except what will be useful to them in their future destination', and 'puerile rhetoric, intricate logic and a barborous jargon dignified by the name of school divinity'.²²⁹ The traditional and established schools were not the only object of criticism. The reader is also warned against 'the knavery of quacks and charlatans' in the growing field of education, arguing that bad teachers should be charged with 'intellectual murder'. The essay was also radical, although consistent with the general Unitarian perspective, in supporting equal education for women.²³⁰

²²⁶Longmans MSS, ms1393, D1.

²²⁷ibid.

²²⁸*Systematic Education*, advertisement p. iv.

²²⁹ibid., p. 10 & 13.

²³⁰ibid., p. 15 & 20.

In *Systematic Education* the link between the dissenting concern with freedom of enquiry and the focus on science were profound.

It is the business of education not to cramp, but to guide the intellect. Its province extends to the inculcation of those principles upon which the structure of science is to be built. To the attainment of truth, freedom of enquiry is vital. A man may as well attempt to penetrate the mazes of an entangled wood in fetters, as to investigate the vast variety of intellectual subjects with a mind trammelled by the imperative decisions of human institutions.²³¹

This quotation reflects the dissenting view of the oppressive nature of learning under the aegis of the Established church and expresses the radical tradition in education. Francis Bacon and, similarly, Thomas Paine, had argued that science should form the basis of true education which would therefore lead to enlightenment and understanding.²³² The most famous Unitarian, Joseph Priestley was highly critical of Establishment curricula and had pioneered a system of education which been influential on Joyce's own experience at Hackney.²³³ Priestley had promoted imaginative study of non-traditional subjects, including history and chemistry, which appeared in *Systematic Education*. From the Unitarian perspective however, it was the individual, endowed with rational faculties, who needed to witness God's rational world in order to develop a better relationship and understanding of Him. Freedom of enquiry could not be restrained by any institution however well intentioned and *Systematic Education* was designed as a system of home learning for the individual.

²³¹ibid., p. 20.

²³²Brian Simon (ed.), *The Radical Tradition in Education In Britain* (Lawrence and Wishart, 1972), Simon's introduction p. 12.

²³³Ruth Watts, 'Some Radical educational networks of the late eighteenth century and their influence' *History of education* 27, 1, (1998), 1-14 (p.5).

The format of *Systematic Education* was simple. In all the different sections the subject was introduced and some historical background given. Relevant definitions were covered, then the subject was treated in considerable depth. Each subject was concluded with a section on relevant titles that the authors thought would lead the student further in the study of the subject. These sections are very useful for the historian, as whilst the titles given are selected in accordance with a Unitarian perspective, they also give a good account of the popular titles available in each subject. Joyce took the opportunity to advertise his own works including his *Dialogues on the Microscope* in the microscopy section, his *Analysis* of Adam Smith in the political economy section, and the *Scientific Dialogues* throughout the natural philosophy sections. He also made extensive reference to articles in *Nicholson's Encyclopedia* which he puffed as 'finding a very deserving place in the student library'.²³⁴

Much of Joyce's material was reworked versions of previous productions. The Chronology section follows the same plan he used in *Familiar Introduction*, from which he also used the material from his Artificial Memory section renamed as 'Memoria Technica'. The natural philosophy sections are presented in the same order and with very similar explanations, illustrations and experiments to those that appeared in the *Scientific Dialogues* by then 15 years old. The Political Economy section is based on Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* - a work with which Joyce was very familiar, and his *Analysis* was in print throughout Joyce's life and reprinted well into the late nineteenth century. Joyce could use his own treatment and simply sharpen the prose to fit this particular project. In the same Political Economy section Joyce introduced the ideas of Thomas Malthus from his *Essay on the principle of population* (1798), saying 'He [Malthus] has endeavoured to shew that population invariably increases where the means of subsistence increases, unless prevented by some very powerful and obvious checks', going on to explain the Malthusian

²³⁴*Systematic Education*, vol. 2, p. 219.

notion of geometrical population increases against arithmetical increases in the means of subsistence.²³⁵ The inclusion of Malthus is interesting as Malthusian ideas were essentially pessimistic and they challenged the optimistic vision of the radical social theorists who assumed an equation between increases in population and increases in prosperity. In *Systematic Education* the treatment of Malthusian ideas is non-committal in the way Joyce's treatment of Smith's ideas were, but their inclusion at all indicates that Joyce thought them to some extent useful.

The penultimate sections of the book are concerned with the 'Structure and Functions of Man'. (Figure 45). Much of this text appeared in a different guise in Joyce's unfinished series of lectures on natural theology, that appeared in the *Monthly Repository* at the same time that *Systematic Education* was published. Joyce's prose style and his skill in presenting scientific knowledge was at its height at this point as the example below, describing the process of respiration, shows.

In the act of inspiration a quantity of atmospheric air is received into the lungs and retained there for a short time, when expired it is found to be altered in its composition: it has lost part of its oxygen and it now contains a quantity of carbonic acid. These changes are inseparably connected with the conversion of the venous into the arterial blood; for in passing through the lungs, it decomposes the air, imbibing the oxygen, and throwing off the azotic gas.²³⁶

This is a clear, lucid and uncomplicated account of a complex process. Through twenty years of writing expositions of science, Joyce developed the craft of textbook writing and the art of presenting the complex, simply. *Systematic Education* ends with 'A letter from a father to his son on the evidences of the truth of the Christian religion'. Joyce had used this literary device in his own *Letters on Natural Philosophy* and it was a further attempt to keep the book's youthful

²³⁵ibid., p. 491.

²³⁶ibid., p. 480.

readers away from the snares and pleasure of society. This was a strictly Unitarian account that described the corruption of Christianity by the Established church and argued for a Christianity based on a claim for reason and truth. Science was woven into the overall religious purpose of increasing the knowledge of God and the reader is sermonised to fulfil their duties to their fellow man.

Strictly connected with a knowledge of our duty to God, is an acquaintance with our duty to our fellow men and to ourselves. All other studies ought, as it were, to centre in this and are valuable in proportion as they enlighten our understanding, so as to enable us to see what conduct becomes us as rational creatures, or as they tend to meliorate our hearts, and elevate us beyond the sway of baser affections.²³⁷

²³⁷ibid., p. 563.

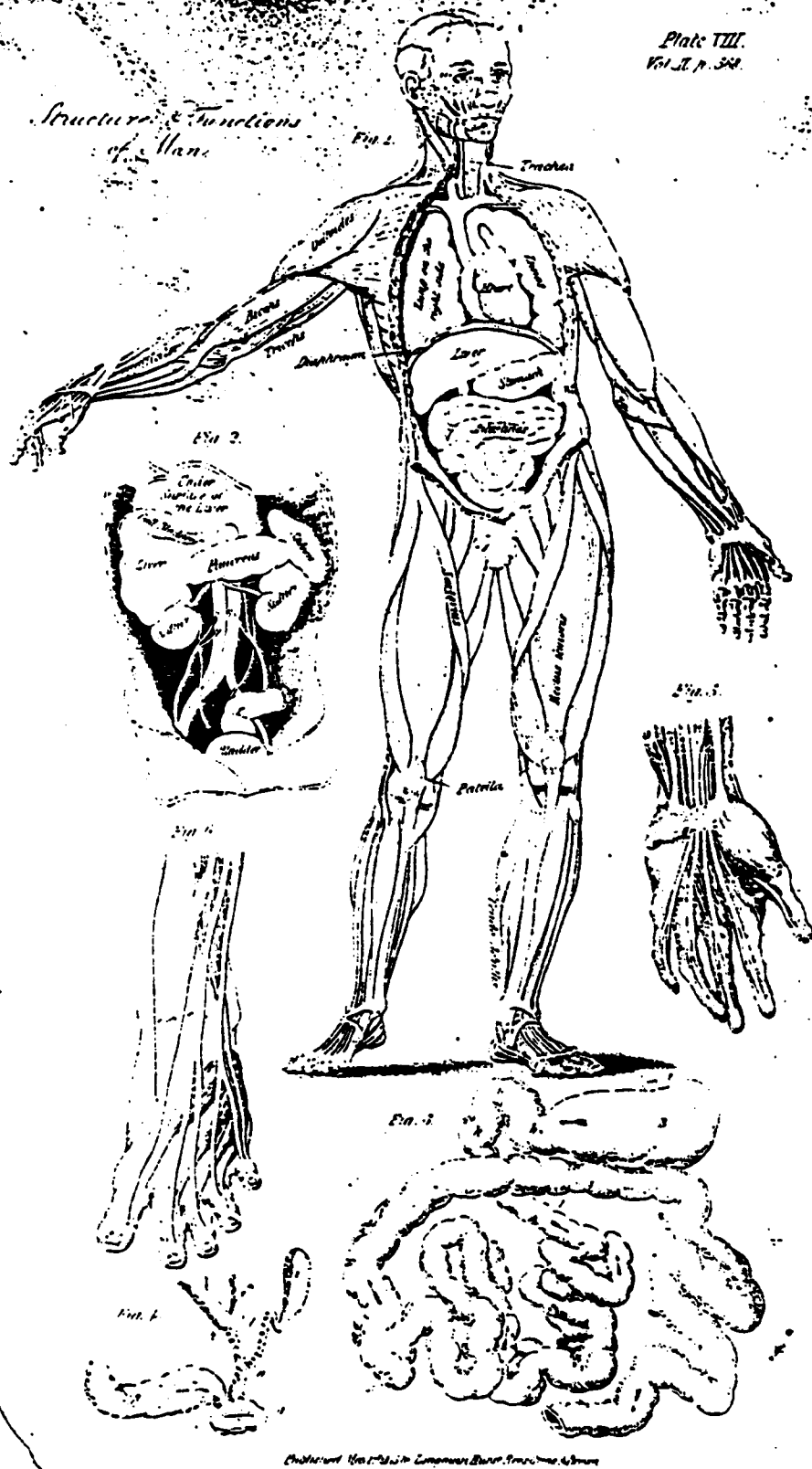


Figure 47. Structure and Functions of Man from *Systematic Education*. 1815.

6.6 Publishing with Sherwood Neely: *Time's Telescope*²³⁸

Very little is known about the firm of Sherwood Neely except that it had a shop in Paternoster Row. *Time's Telescope for 1814*, is an interesting annual anthology. Each month contained sections devoted to a 'Naturalist Diary', 'Meteorological Remarks' explanatory notices of 'Saint's Days and Holidays', and the largest sections were devoted to 'Astronomical Occurrences'. (Figure 47). This was the last production in which Joyce was involved that does not carry his name. The advertisement, which lists other sources by name, says 'The Astronomical Occurrences have been written expressly for the 'Telescope' by a gentleman eminently conversant with the subject'. Aspland credits Joyce with the 'Astronomical Parts' and Elizabeth Joyce simply lists *Time's Telescope* as Joyce's. Analysis of the 'Astronomical Occurrences' reveals Joyce's literary style and much of the subject matter is strikingly reminiscent of other material by Joyce. The advertisement is dated 13 November 1813 and Joyce must have spent some considerable time in 1813 working out the dates and times of various forthcoming celestial events.

It may appear surprising that Joyce, whose rational religion stood in opposition to any type of superstition of which the predictive discourse of astrology, contained in some almanacs, is symptomatic, could have had anything to do with such a production. However, the type of knowledge contained in *Time's Telescope* was utterly consistent with Joyce's Unitarian and educational project. Furthermore, involvement with almanacs was not without precedent by eminent and scientific men. Charles Hutton for instance, professor of mathematics at the Royal Military Academy, was the senior compiler of ten almanacs for the Stationers company from 1786.²³⁹

²³⁸*Time's Telescope for 1814; or a Complete Guide to the Almanac: Containing an Explanation of Saints' Days and Holidays* (Sherwood Neely, 1814).

²³⁹Maureen Perkins, *Visions of the future: Almanacs, Time and Cultural Change 1775 - 1870* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 29.

Broadly there are two types of astrology which appeared in early modern almanacs. Judicial astrology in which star charts were used to predict future events, and natural astrology in which information about planetary motion and lunar phases was applied to physical phenomenon - for instance the phases of the moon to crop planting. Whilst judicial astrology largely disappeared from almanacs by 1805, natural astrology was retained until the mid nineteenth century.²⁴⁰ As a form of knowledge, natural astrology was profoundly demotic as it did not, initially at least, require a high level of education on behalf of the reader and was the sort of material that appealed to the widest audience. The type of knowledge contained in almanacs was therefore popular both in the sense of being understandable by the layman, and in the broadest sense of being a form of knowledge in which all social groups could consider themselves legitimately interested. As a literary tradition therefore, natural astrology was a form of knowledge which appealed to a wide audience including the lower classes offering Joyce a ready vehicle for his concerns with education and science. Furthermore, Joyce involvement in meteorology through his years of writing the meteorological reports for the *Monthly Magazine*, may also have interested him in almanacs in which weather predictions featured. *Time's Telescope* is notable for being the first almanac in which tables of barometer readings appeared.²⁴¹

Where most of Joyce's other writings were targeted at particular reading audiences - middle class children of specific ages, teenagers, young men and attenders at Humphry Davy's lectures - his writing in *Time's Telescope* assumes a very general readership. The Astronomical Occurrences are partially compiled from his own writings and many of the explanations use material he had previously published. The monthly entries are surprisingly long and follow a very similar format.

²⁴⁰ibid., p. 5.

²⁴¹ibid., p. 214.

Gal. gl. B. 6

Time's Telescope

FOR
1814;

OR,
A Complete Guide to the Almanack:
CONTAINING AN EXPLANATION
OF
SAINTS' DAYS AND HOLIDAYS;
WITH ILLUSTRATIONS OF BRITISH HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES,
AND
NOTICES OF OBSOLETE RITES AND CUSTOMS.

Astronomical Occurrences
IN EVERY MONTH:
COMPRISING REMARKS ON THE PHENOMENA OF THE CELESTIAL BODIES,
AND
A POPULAR VIEW OF THE SOLAR SYSTEM.

THE NATURALIST'S DIARY;
EXPLAINING THE VARIOUS
APPEARANCES IN THE ANIMAL AND VEGETABLE KINGDOMS,
AND
METEOROLOGICAL REMARKS.

ACCOMPANIED BY
Twelve descriptive Wood Cuts of the different Months,
ENGRAVED BY MR. CLENNELL.

London:
PRINTED FOR SHERWOOD, NEELY, AND JONES,
29, Paternoster Row.
1814.

Figure 48. Title page of *Time's Telescope*. 1814.

They open with general and interesting remarks on particular celestial phenomenon, and present a historical and mildly sensationalist account of the way the phenomenon has been understood. For instance the December entry starts under the subtitle 'Of the Nature and Uses of Comets'. After pointing out that before 'the light of knowledge', comets were considered 'the harbingers of awful convulsions' and many 'wild and extravagant notions have been entertained respecting them'. He recounted how 'Even a century ago the famous Whiston' had considered comets the 'abode of the damned' and how Whiston thought comets 'alternately hurried its wretched tenants to the terrifying extremes of perishing cold and devouring fire'.²⁴² He then delivered a Newtonian and physical account of the tails of comets formed from rising 'vapour' through the process of 'rarefaction' and centrifugal force.

Now the ascent of vapours into the tail of the comet, he [Newton] supposes occasioned by the rarefaction of the matter of the atmosphere at the time of its being in the perihelion.

The ascent of the vapours will be promoted by their circular motion around the Sun.²⁴³

One of the striking features of Joyce's narrative here is how he uses a quite chatty sensationalist style designed to appeal to a popular readership, as a platform for imparting some quite difficult information. This is a deliberate pattern and he was clearly trying to educate his readers at the same time as interest them. He introduced Newton's idea that comets may 'recruit the Sun with fresh fuel' and goes on to explain resistance of the solar atmosphere and increasing gravitation. He explored the idea of that 'Comets have been regarded as the cause of the deluge' and went on to discuss attractive powers, the rotary motion of the globe and centrifugal force. He did not hide any features of celestial mechanics on grounds that they would be too difficult or inappropriate for the production in general. He found a way of explaining phenomena in language which is kept as

²⁴²*Time's Telescope*, 1814, p. 318.

²⁴³*ibid.*

simple as possible, and he imparted information in a style that assumed that the reader would be able to follow his reasoning.

In each monthly entry, after 3 or 4 pages of introductory historical material and observations, he presented a number of tables which predicted the times of the sun and moon's rising and falling, and the alterations to clocks necessary to keep time in line with the earth's rotations. He also recorded any interesting phenomenon calculated to take place. For instance in December he included data predicting the passage of eclipses of the moon and of Jupiter's satellites. (Figure 48). Such detailed and predictive data suggests that Joyce worked through the calculations himself, although it is possible that he collected the information from a range of other sources. He then gave a lecture on astronomical subjects in which material that he had used in his *Dialogues*, *Letters* and his encyclopaedia entries on astronomy, were recycled under such titles as, 'Of the Georgian Planet, and of Comets'. Where Joyce had worked heavily on presenting a very accessible opening and providing predictive information in his middle sections, these closing sections relying heavily on his previous works. Such differences in the way Joyce placed his energies show his experience and skill in handling a new project. He shaped and designed his openings for a general readership, he worked on providing interesting information in line with the genre of almanacs, and he then filled the gaps with a re-arrangement of his own material. This was a formula for dealing with a new literary task achieved through his years of compilations and jobbing authorship. For the efficient execution of his craft, Joyce had to apply his practised skills effectively and economically through the twelve monthly sections.

Dec. 27th,	42 m. after 4
28th,	53
29th,	11
30th,	35
31st,	54

On the 26th of December, the Moon, being at the full, will be eclipsed, visible at London :—

Beginning of the eclipse will be 30 m. past 9

Middle 7½ |

End 18½ |

Digits eclipsed 5° 50½ on the Moon's north limb.

On the 24th, the Moon will eclipse the star ϵ γ : the immersion will take place at 38 m. past 9 in the evening, and the emersion at exactly 11 o'clock. In the former case, the star will be 6½ south of the Moon's centre; and in the latter, 10½ on the same side.

On the 26th, the Moon will eclipse the star ϵ γ : the immersion will occur at 6 m. past 4 in the morning, and the emersion at 26 m. past 4; and, in both cases, the star will be 15½ north of the Moon's centre.

Mercury is stationary on the 7th : on the 26th, Mercury will eclipse the star α δ ; and, on the 30th, it will eclipse λ δ . Mercury's greatest elongation will be on the 16th. The superior conjunction will be at 8 o'clock in the morning of the 26th. Jupiter will be in its quadrature on the 31st.

There will be visible at Greenwich, this month, three eclipses of Jupiter's first satellite, and two of the second, viz.

1st Satellite.		2d Satellite.	
15th, at 26 m. past 3	} in the morning.	23d, at 24 m. past 4	} in the morning.
22d, - 20		29th, 57	
31st, - 41			

VIEW OF THE SOLAR SYSTEM.

Of the Georgian Planet, and of Comets.

This planet entirely escaped the attention and notice of antient astronomers. It was observed as a

Figure 49. Extract from *Astronomical Occurrences in Time's Telescope*. 1814.

6.7 Publishing with C.J. Barrington: *The Lives of the Admirals*

Both Aspland and Elizabeth Joyce record Joyce's work on a new edition of John Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*.²⁴⁴ Very little is known about Barrington and very little can be said about Joyce's work on this project which was published by Barrington in 1812 and by John Stockdale in 1813. The original editor employed to update the work was Henry Redhead Yorke who was, like Joyce, involved in political radicalism in the 1790s but who later became an arch Tory.²⁴⁵ Yorke had been urged to do the work by Richard Valpy the headmaster of Reading School, early in 1812 but Yorke became ill and died in early January 1813. Joyce was probably invited to complete that task when but it is impossible to determine which were Joyce's contributions.

6.8 Overview of Joyce's works

Joyce's educational works share some distinctive features. They were all created from a combination of the commercial imperatives of the marketplace, the interests of the various publishers with whom Joyce worked, and Joyce's own material needs. They all contain and express Joyce's Unitarian belief in a rational world which reveals the beneficent designs of God. They were all founded on the premise that true knowledge of the natural world would bring humanity to a closer and more honest relationship with God, and they were all optimistic in the sense of presupposing that with the right education, human society would progress to a more harmonious and egalitarian future.

Yet his works also reflect the eclecticism and experimentalism of publishing speculations in a growing marketplace for books. They all reflect the influence of publishers, Joyce's own designs, and the expansion of the educational sector of the market. Each of the works reflects a different balance of factors. With Johnson, Joyce's works reflect an older perspective on education

²⁴⁴John Campbell, *Lives of the Admirals* (Barrington, 1812, 1st edn. 1750)

²⁴⁵DNB. Yorke entry.

influenced by Joyce's employment with the aristocratic Earl Stanhope and the educational experimentalism of Rousseau, Edgeworth and Priestley. With Johnson, Joyce was able to exercise literary freedom in the construction of his narratives. He adopted and used the established conventions of the literary forms of the dialogue, the letter and the catechism which he transformed to his own purposes. He used 'dialogues' not in the sense of literary vehicles to prompt speculation, but as vehicles of didacticism; he used 'letters' as individual lessons; and he mixed up the symbolic power of the religious 'catechism' with the pedagogic flexibility of the dialogue. He was not alone in using these forms of writing elastically to produce new literary products, but he was clearly one of the first nineteenth century writers to develop them to popularise science.

With Phillips, Joyce's works reflect the hard-nosed but imaginative profiteering of a publisher who seized the opportunities of the new market and created new educational products. Phillips expanded the range of educational publications with considerable success. His educational works were less literary than those of Johnson and were built on his own commercially driven formulas. Joyce's commissions with Phillips followed clearly defined prescriptions: Phillips's 'grammars' and Joyce's *System*, were textbooks written to a formula directed at the target markets of both schools and home learners, while the *Wonders* and the *Book of Trades* were fashioned for general markets and were respectable general reading. Whilst Joyce gained little long-term material benefit from his works with Phillips he learnt how to adapt to, and fulfil, the demands of a range of projects and he gained a reputation as an editor through his work on *Gregory's Dictionary*.

With the large firm of Longmans Joyce had two roles - of employee and of author. He was involved with Encyclopedia projects - Rees's, Nicholson's and Kendall's - where he was employed to do specific literary tasks. Longmans also accepted two of Joyce's own productions - *Familiar Introduction* which was a very general, cheap and inoffensive compendium, and *Systematic Education*, which was overtly Unitarian and expressed Joyce's educational programme. The

corporate publishing house of Longmans generated large projects in which he could fulfil the functions of both editor and contributor and enabled him to consolidate his reputation as an able and respectable literary worker.

By contrast, with H.D. Symonds, Sherwood Neely and C.J. Barrington Joyce engaged in a variety of speculations none of which carried his name. These were projects that forced Joyce to write in particular styles and adapt himself to quite different literary formats to the ones he employed in his educational writings. Joyce was clearly well known to London publishers as an adaptable writer who could fulfil a role in their speculative projects.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

In telling a story it is necessary to build coherent patterns. In telling the story of Joyce's life and work, I have traced links between his social circumstances and his intellectual outlook. I have used his biography to navigate the histories of radicalism, dissent, education and publishing in order to create just such a coherent pattern. The picture I have drawn seeks to portray Joyce's biography against the background of political radicalism and the social vision of Unitarianism, but such a picture can only be partial in its attempt to describe the real compromises of his life. The image of consistent and high principled heroism that might be suggested by his actions in the early 1790s and his life-long dedication to the Unitarian cause, is challenged by his acquiescence in the commercial and social exigencies that circumscribed his life. The economic realities which influenced writer-publisher relations sometimes led Joyce to write on the basis of speculative estimates of potential markets, rather than on the basis of his elevated social vision. Joyce espoused and aspired to a sense of social respectability, yet it was the very standards of respectability that served to partially alienate him and that created some of the compromises he had to negotiate.

Such contradictions are the stuff of life and impossible to escape. Joyce's life is no exception. His grip on his own principles loosened or tightened according to the demands of the situation and his power to influence it. As a young man invigorated with millennial hopes of the French Revolution, enthused by the company of fellow radicals and horrified by what he saw as the abuse of proper government, he challenged the most powerful forms of authority. A very different image emerges if he is pictured sitting at his writing desk producing Richard Phillips's latest publishing

speculation in which a pseudonym was used and a pedagogy - rote learning - deployed which ran counter to his philosophy. Indeed in his day-to-day life of a jobbing writer, he may well have had to forego any sense of moral purpose in his concern to secure income. Yet despite such contrary images, there are a number of features revealed in his personal and intellectual deportment, which suggest a consistency of human fibre and purpose.

Joyce did not possess a brilliant intellect in the sense that Priestley or Price or Burke or Coleridge did. He didn't obtain a level of intellectual dexterity with which to develop innovative insights and move ideas and understanding forwards. He was a worker, a craftsman who turned his skills, acquired through his artisan upbringing and trade apprenticeship, to craft knowledge for public consumption. The sense of guidance over the learning process, the use of pedagogical devices adapted and changed for different circumstances, and the dogged perseverance to complete the task, are characteristic of Joyce's craftsman-like engagement with life.

His unswerving belief in divine providence provided him with a system that he held and prosecuted with focused dedication. There is no evidence in any of his writings that he ever doubted God's existence or His providential design of the physical universe. The completeness of religious his belief however, does not mean that he was intellectually unable to consider counter arguments, but that it provided him with an explanatory framework with which to understand the world. For Joyce, the mysteries of life were answered in the mind of God and this simple formula cast out atheistic challenges or contrary evidence as both pernicious and unnecessary. These two features of Joyce's disposition - a craftsman's practical engagement with life and a complete belief in God - provide the basis of his mindset.

For a considerable portion of Joyce's literary production it is possible to identify the tenets of Unitarianism - particularly in his writings for the Unitarian publisher Joseph Johnson and in his last book, *Systematic Education*. The link between his Unitarianism and his writings for other

publishers however, is not so clear. Joyce's editorial and literary skills were the services sought by Richard Phillips, Longmans, H.D. Symonds, Sherwood Neely and C.J. Barrington. His skills as a literary project worker were marketable and secured him his livelihood in the world of metropolitan publishing. In such circumstances, and in the face of the commercial reasoning to which he had to adapt, he could not afford to maintain his earlier Unitarian agenda.

Joyce's Unitarianism conferred an authenticity to his social persona and established a sense of moral purpose in his negotiations with the book trade. Indeed his Unitarianism combined with his radical past made him a minor celebrity and secured his entry to the offices of publishers. In particular, his involvement in the Treason Trials, which turned out to be a test of the 1792 Libel Act and the Jury's, rather than the Judge's, right to decide whether writings were seditious or not, was a major landmark in publishing history. For the publishing world, Joyce had been instrumental in securing a freedom which benefited the whole industry. The Treason Trials, symbolically at least, had served to delimit the range of governmental control and censorship of the press, and preserved the literary freedom within which publishers could operate. Some publishers may therefore have been grateful to Joyce and were disposed to employ him on relevant projects.

Joyce was writing at a time when the English book trade was undergoing major transformations, changing from being dominated by small independents like Joseph Johnson and Benjamin Flower, to large corporate enterprises like Longmans. One of the features of this period was the increasing importance of potentially lucrative sections of the market for books. Popular education was one such developing market in which writers did not require a high literary and artistic reputation. In the marketing of educational books publishers had much more license to create and control projects in which books were published anonymously or pseudonymously. Such books were increasingly created as much from publishers' estimations of the market, as from authorial intention. This type of literary enterprise therefore conferred relatively more power in the hands of the publishers, to

direct the form and content of individual works. This was particularly true of Sir Richard Phillips whose speculations provided Joyce with a large amount of employment. The expansion of the market created space for the development of new ranges of literary products and Joyce was well-placed to share in such an expansion.

Joyce had many personal contacts in the publishing industry. His working relationship with Joseph Johnson in the production of Unitarian tracts secured Johnson's support. His relationship with Richard Phillips was forged through their mutual radical past. With Longmans, one of the partners, Joyce's fellow Unitarian Owen Rees and Joyce's former tutor, the Encyclopedia editor Abraham Rees, maintained Joyce's strong links with the firm. His connections were important in securing him work, but his radical reputation was also important in establishing credentials interesting to certain publishers. Joyce's reputation however, was a double-edged sword. It worked in his favour to the extent of helping him to obtain work, but against him in that marketing considerations sometimes prevented the use of his name, leaving him frustrated that his reputation did not benefit from his labour.

Joyce's writings represent a compromise between his Unitarian views, the requirements of his publishers and the developing market for books. His Unitarian inheritance, received largely through Priestley, provided a mechanics of learning based on Lockean categories and Hartleyian associationism. This inheritance generated a pedagogy with which Joyce could apply his craft skills. His license to direct literary projects to a manifestly Unitarian vision however, was crucially determined by his relationship with publishers in which his status was sometimes as an independent writer and sometimes as an employee. For Johnson he could produce works that reflected his Unitarian views. For Phillips he had to write according to commercial formulae and with Longmans he had to find a niche within a large corporate enterprise.

Infused with the conviction of divine providence, Joyce was optimistic. He believed that if people were educated to use their powers of reason they would more fully appreciate God's work and could build a fairer and better world. The major domain in which reason could be successfully applied was science, and it was to science that Joyce focused his educational efforts. Consistent with traditions of Unitarianism, he combined an intellectual form of theology with the optimistic elements of the Enlightenment programme and the power of scientific method. Joyce was a populariser of science not only because it provided a market he could exploit - although that was increasingly the purpose of his publishers - but also because he profoundly believed scientific education would lead people to a better understanding of God. Joyce had been trained for the pulpit and his intention from the 1780s had always been to obtain a ministry. Unable to fulfil his first calling, his educational activities enabled him to develop a different form of ministry, but which was nevertheless concerned with moral guidance and the cultivation of human relationships with God. Understanding science and using scientific reasoning for Joyce, meant cultivating an attitude of rational piety which would bring the individual closer to God.

Joyce's personal history had taken him through a period of intense social change and political challenge to the authority of the government. Despite the defeat of radicalism through the early 1790s, he always sought to drive society towards his vision of a more equitable society. In this respect, his mature educational vision was as informed by political principles as were his activities as a political radical in the early 1790s. Education was and remains, political, in the sense that it is a site for the reproduction of cultural values over which there is vested and conflicting political interest. Joyce's educational work took place in a period when the power and necessity of education was becoming increasingly recognised at all levels of society. Yet Joyce's works largely avoided the defensive fire of his Establishment and conservative critics. He produced books whose price, at the point of sale, kept them out of reach of the lowest classes of readers and therefore were

unlikely to be seen as a dangerous extension of knowledge downwards in the social hierarchy. The scientific content of his writings and the narrative structures he used could not be readily challenged on political grounds as they flattered the middle class values of industry and respectability. Indeed most of his works use narrative forms, for instance the *Scientific Dialogues* given an aristocratic setting and a dialogue between a tutor and the sons of an aristocrat, which reinforced respectable values.

Between his earlier activities in the Society for Constitutional Information (SCI) and his later educational works, Joyce appears to have extended the time necessary to achieve his Unitarian vision of a better society. Like many others disillusioned by the promise and then horrors of the French Revolution, Joyce realised that the process of education had to be more gradual than he had originally thought. The SCI had always been more gradualist and intellectual in its outlook than the working class London Corresponding Society which had urged immediate representative democracy. Caught on the wave of optimism in liberal intellectual circles following the outbreak of the French Revolution however, and responding to some signals of support from other reform groups, the SCI in the early 1790s saw its goals as achievable in the near future. The events of the 1790s however, pushed liberal, and particularly Unitarian, sentiment, back to a more removed sense of paternal guidance over the social programme, in which the goal of a more equitable society was placed further in the future.

The initial audience to whom Joyce's literary products were directed was ringfenced by economic boundaries in the form of book price.²⁴⁶ However, as the market for books increased and as the technologies of book production improved, the capacity for large print-runs of lower priced books yielding sufficient profit for publishers increased. Joyce was working at a time when

²⁴⁶Nearly all Joyce's publications retailed at a price over 3s 6d - the average daily wage for a craftsman in the building trades working in the Southeast of England in the period - Henry Phelps Brown & Sheila Hopkins, *A perspective of Wages and Prices* (Methuen, 1981), p. 11, table 1.

publishers were just beginning to exploit such markets. Educational books, traditionally cheaper than other forms of writing, were one of the obvious markets to exploit. In the growing industry of the production of educational materials Joyce was one of the first professional educationalists to obtain a living from writing science books.

Joyce made no pretence of owning the ideas he crafted although he became responsible for them as they appeared on the page. There is clear sense in which the books he produced were the product of his own work. His craft was the craft of teaching and his art was the pedagogical formulation of a Unitarian vision. He worked over a huge range of subjects to which he adapted to under the pressure of circumstances. He possessed the ability to adapt to circumstances, to fulfil the demands of the project in hand and to construct a new product from a range of materials.

Joyce was not a grand theorist. He did not engage the philosophical difficulties over the nature of reason, the existence of God, the paradox of predestination and human freewill or the problems of democratic government. But he didn't need to. His craftsman style and his rational piety gave him an assured sense of purpose with which to live his life. The commercial imperatives of the publishing world, the contradictions of political and social reality and sense of alienation from the Unitarian community no doubt confused, dismayed, challenged and compromised him. But his religious and optimistic engagement with the world provided him with the answers that gave his life sense and meaning.

Appendix 1

Bibliography of Joyce's works in order of publication

Evidence that these titles were composed by Joyce comes from a number of sources. The most important are Robert Aspland's memoir of Joyce, which gives a comprehensive list of Joyce's works, but which has some errors in dating, and the partial memory of Joyce's wife Elizabeth as recorded by Joyce's daughter in a letter to her sister. Supplementary evidence is gleaned from the recollections of Joyce's contemporaries, close study of bibliographical information, advertisements, prefaces and title pages. In the following description of Joyce's titles, Joyce has been identified as author where two sources confirm his authorship and where any available supplementary evidence is consistent.

An account of the author's arrest for "Treasonable Practices" (Printed for the author, 1794).

A Sermon preached on Sunday, February the 23rd, 1794: to which is added an appendix containing an account of the author's arrest for treasonable practices (Printed for the author, Nov. 1794),

Analysis of Paley's view of the Evidences.... (London: Benjamin Flower, 1795).

Analysis of Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations (Cambridge: Benjamin Flower, 1797).

Institutes of Natural Philosophy (Johnson, 1799, 1st ed., 1785). [Ascribed to Enfield W]. Also printed as, *A Short Introduction to Magnetism & Electricity and the First Principles of Chemistry* (1799).

Shakespeare's Seven Ages of Man Illustrated (H. D. Symonds, 1800). [Anon.]

Scientific Dialogues Intended for the Instruction and Entertainment of Young People: in which the first Principles of Natural and Experimental Philosophy are fully explained (Johnson, 1800-03)

An Easy Grammar of General Geography (Phillips, 1803). [Pseud. Goldsmith J.]

Geography on a Popular plan (Phillips, 1803). [Pseud. Goldsmith J.]

Courage and Union ('Published at the desire of several persons who heard it', 1803).

Book of Trades (Tabart, 1804?). [Anon]

An Analysis of Paley's Natural Theology or Evidences of the Existence and Attributes of the Deity Collected from the Appearances of Nature (Cambridge: Flower, 1804).

Wonders of the Microscope or An Explanation of the Wisdom of the Creator in Objects Comparatively Minute, Adapted to the Understanding of the Young (Tabert & Phillips, 1805). [Anon].

Wonders of the Telescope or Display of the Starry Heavens Calculated to Promote and Simplify the Study of Astronomy (Tabert & Phillips, 1805). [Anon]

Dialogues in Chemistry intended for the Instruction and Entertainment of Young People In Which The First Principles Of That Science Are Fully Explained. To Which are added Questions And Other Exercises For The Examination Of Pupils (Johnson, 1807).

Dictionary of Arts and Sciences (Phillips 1807) [Under Gregory G.]

An Easy Grammar of Natural and Experimental Philosophy for the Use of Schools (Phillips, 1807). [Pseud. Blair Rev. D.]

A System Of Practical Arithmetic Applicable to the Present State of Trade, and Money Transactions, Illustrated by Numerous Examples Under Each rule; For the Use of Schools (Phillips, 1808).

A Key to Joyce's Arithmetic Containing Solutions and Answers (Phillips, 1808).

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1. Manuscript sources.
 - 2.1 Printed sources including pseudonymous works [identified].
 - 2.2 Anonymous works.
 - 2.3 Other sources.
 - 2.4 Newspaper and Periodicals.
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